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Vol. III.

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EDITED BY

H. FRANK HEATH

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Professor C. A. BUCHHEIM, Ph.D.

The
Modern Language Quarterly

Edited by
H. FRANK HEATH

With the assistance of
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Vol. III. July 1900 No. 1

KARL ADOLF BUCHHEIM,

PH.D. (ROSTOCK), M.A. (OXFORD), PROFESSOR OF THE GERMAN LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE IN KING'S COLLEGE, LONDON.

If in the first half of our century William Taylor of Norwich and Thomas Carlyle did much, by means of numerous translations and critical essays, to arouse among Englishmen an interest in German literature, and to pave the way for a true appreciation of some of its great classics, there is no doubt that, in the second half, the most successful exponent of German literature in this country is the man whose portrait adorns the present number of the *Quarterly*, Charles Adolphus Buchheim. He is the Nestor of the professors of German in this country, where he has resided ever since the end of 1851, and where, among teachers and students of German, his name has for several decades been a household word.

Professor Buchheim was born on January 22, 1828, near Brünn, the capital of Moravia, and is thus a compatriot of Comenius. He was educated at Pressburg and Vienna, where he studied literature and education, and busied himself with poetical productions and literary criticisms. When in 1848 the revolution broke out at Vienna, Buchheim, then still a student, hailed the dawn of a more liberal era with enthusiasm, entered the 'Studentenlegion,' and did his best to encourage and to ennoble the popular movement by his political articles and political songs. Some of the latter, set to music by no less eminent composers than Liszt and Lortzing, were at that time most popular in Vienna, and frequently sung in public. After the triumph of the reaction (in Oct. 1848), Buchheim left his native country and went, by Leipzig and Brussels, to Paris, busy with various literary and historical works. After the *coup d'état* he left France and, in 1851, came over to England, which became his country of adoption, just as it had formerly given shelter to a number of high-minded men who had to leave their own country on account of their political convictions. Ever since 1852 Buchheim has devoted himself solely to educational and literary work, but he followed with the keenest interest the great political transformations which Germany and Austria underwent during the last forty years. Having come to London without any introductions, he had to make a career for himself, in which he was successful.

He first began as an author and translator. He published (in 1852) the historical novel *Die Rebellen von Lübeck*, and soon after some translations from Dickens. But it was not long before he found his true

vocation, the noble task to which henceforth all his endeavours were devoted: the task of a teacher of German. Ever since the early fifties, by oral teaching and by his numerous writings, he has been an expounder of modern German literature to thousands of English and English-speaking students of German, and his signal services did not fail to meet with their deserved recognition. After the unavoidably hard struggle of the first ten years, during which period he nevertheless found time to qualify for the degree of Ph.D. at the University of Rostock and to prepare the first of his many annotated editions of German classics, viz. Wallenstein (1863), he was appointed Professor of the German Language and Literature at King's College; a chair which he has now held for nearly forty years. In the eighties he was for several years tutor in German to the children of the Prince and Princess of Wales. On the occasion of his seventieth birthday (January 22, 1898) the honorary degree of M.A. was conferred upon him by the University of Oxford, and he was elected an honorary member of the Modern Language Association. An illuminated address, setting forth his great services, and signed by nearly all the more important professors and teachers of German in this country, was presented to him on that day.

A few months before Buchheim's seventieth birthday, Dr. A. Tille had given to German readers a sympathetic sketch of this indefatigable champion of German literature in the periodical *Die Zukunft* (October 17, 1896). A portrait of him (identical with the one here given) was published in the *Public School Magazine* of February 1899 (p. 96). He has long been a fellow of the College of Preceptors, and has been for many years a member of the Council of the College. In January 1900 the eminent services rendered by Professor Buchheim to the cause of German in England were expressly and most appropriately recognised by the German Emperor, who bestowed upon him the order of the Red Eagle (Third Class). The news of this distinction was received with the greatest satisfaction in this country and abroad.

Buchheim has done excellent work in his threefold capacity of teacher, editor and commentator, and examiner.

On October 6, 1863, he gave his inaugural address at King's College, the subject being 'German Grammar Past and Present'; and this historical and philological monograph was soon afterwards published by Bell. Buchheim lectured not only on German philology and literature, but also on educational subjects. His lectures were as a rule delivered in German, but sometimes also in English, *e.g.* those on the history of education. At the Ladies' Department of King's College, he gave and still gives lectures on German literature in German. At his Faust lectures, the classes consist often of no less than seventy to eighty women students, and the whole number of female students attending his various classes does not fall short of 110. Thus by oral instruction he has for very many years done excellent work, which is highly appreciated by his numerous past and present pupils. For some time (1875-76) he was Dean of the Evening Class Department of King's College.

But soon after his appointment to the London professorship, he became known to a much larger public. All over England, and also in the Colonies, America, and even in Germany and Austria, he is admired as the author of many excellent editions of German writers, classical and otherwise, and also of several other books useful for the study and teaching of German.

Great is the number of classical editions published by him for the Clarendon Press (13 vols.), Macmillan (3 vols.), and Norgate (now Nutt) (8 vols.). They are intended for different purposes and addressed to different circles of readers. Those published by the Clarendon Press are standard books for the study and class-teaching of German; those brought out by Macmillan form part of the excellent 'Golden Treasury' series, and are, above all, intended to provide a selection of the best German poetry for persons pretty familiar with the language. A brief summary of his editions may be welcome in this place.[1] LESSING: *Minna von Barnhelm* (C.P., [1]1878, [5]1887), *Nathan der Weise* (C.P., [1]1882, [2]1888). GOETHE: *Egmont* (C.P., about 1879, [4]1889), *Iphigenie* (C.P., [1]1880, [4]1895). The first four books of *Dichtung und Wahrheit* (C.P., [1]1894). A selection from Goethe's *Prosa* (Sampson Low, etc., [2]1890). He also edited a carefully revised and supplemented edition of Hayward's annotated translation of *Faust* (I.), to which he added a useful introduction (Bell, 1892). SCHILLER: the edition of *Wallenstein* (Bell, [1]1863, [5]1884) was his first great commentary, which at its appearance won for its author the praise of such men as Grimm, Gervinus, and Carlyle. In his later Schiller editions,

[1] I have, as far as possible, given the dates of the first edition and that of the last known to me.

however, Buchheim has in many ways far surpassed this first edition. These are *Wilhelm Tell* (C.P., [1]1871, [7]1886), of which an abridged school edition was brought out in 1884, *Die Jungfrau von Orleans* (C.P., 1890), and *Maria Stuart* (C.P., 1895). He also published two fine *Historische Skizzen* (C.P., 1878), a careful selection of Schiller's *Prosa* (Sampson Low, [1]1877, [4]1899). HEINE: A selection from his *Prosa* (C.P., 1884, [2]1893), *Die Harzreise* (C.P., 1886), *Lieder und Gedichte* (Macmillan, G.T.S. III., 1897). The other volumes of German POEMS in the 'Golden Treasury' series are *Deutsche Lyrik* (from Luther till the present time, with Notes and a literary Introduction (G.T.S. I., 1870, [8]1898), and *Balladen und Romanzen* (from Bürger to the present day, with Notes and a literary Introduction, G.T.S. II., 1891, [3]1895). He also prepared a useful school selection called 'German Poetry for Repetition,' with copious English notes (Longmans, Green & Co., [4]1885). In Halm's *Griseldis* he has edited with great care a modern romantic drama (C.P., 1894). Easy and interesting historical prose may be read in his editions of Sybel's *Prinz Eugen von Savoyen* (Nutt, [4]1894) and Becker's *Friedrich der Grosse* (C.P., 1887, [2]1888), while capital descriptive natural science and geographical prose are found in A. v. Humboldt's *Natur- und Reisebilder* (Nutt, [1]1875, [2]1890). In the two volumes of his 'Modern German Reader' (C.P., I., [5]1888, II., [3]1896) a careful selection from easy and attractive prose and poetry, useful for beginners and elementary class-teaching, was edited by Buchheim in his usual thorough manner.[1] Apart from these and other editions he compiled a book containing passages for 'German Composition,' which is being widely used (Bell, [9]1884).

Not many words of praise of his editions are needed in this place; they are all well known, most of them being in constant use in our schools, colleges, and universities. His books are very highly valued in Germany, and not unfrequently quoted even by scholars. Although intended in the first instance to be used in the higher forms of secondary schools, yet most of his editions have proved most valuable helps to students and teachers. Buchheim's great popularity in this country and in the Colonies is mainly due to the series of excellent annotated editions of the great German classical authors published by the Clarendon Press, and also to the trio of dainty volumes in Macmillan's 'Golden Treasury' series. His is the lasting merit of having been the first to show that the modern German classics are as deserving and as capable of scholarly treatment as the ancient classical authors. He has set up a high ideal of scholarly and sympathetic explanation, and has thus done much to raise the standard of German teaching and editing throughout the country. His editions became to a great extent models for later scholars, such as Hager, Wolstenholme, and others in this country, and also in America. He has been the first to elucidate many a difficult passage of the great modern classics, and has fully proved the truth of Goethe's words:

> 'Denn bei den alten lieben Toten
> Braucht man Erklärung, will man Noten:
> Die Neuen glaubt man blank zu verstehn,
> Doch ohne Dolmetsch wird's auch nicht gehn.'

His introductions prefixed to the various texts are especially good; they are indeed models of what such introductions should be. He always traces the history of the work from the sources, adding a critical analysis and, in the case of plays, arguments of the acts. He often adds a skilfully composed sketch of the poet's life. Buchheim always read all that had been written on his subject in this country and abroad, and, fortunately, he was always able to avail himself to the fullest extent of the treasures of the British Museum. He goes back to the poet's sources in *Tell*, *Maria Stuart*, and *Egmont*, to the original prose texts in *Iphigenie*, to Lessing's theological controversies in *Nathan der Weise*. He is careful, and sometimes the first, to discuss peculiarities of metre and style, *e.g.* the use of 'stichomythia,' and freely quotes German, English, and classical parallels. His explanatory notes are chiefly literary, and always well considered and useful; one may indeed occasionally differ from the views of the learned commentator, but one must always acknowledge the extreme care bestowed by Buchheim on every point of his commentary. Lists of works bearing on the text and of translations of it into English are welcome additions to teachers and scholars, and many of his colleagues will, like myself, look forward to the completion of the monograph on English translations of modern German classics which the learned professor has promised to publish some day.

[1] Another edition of an easy text (Niebuhr's *Griechische Heroen-Geschichten*) was prepared by the Professor's daughter, Miss Emma S. B. (the editor of Chamisso's *Peter Schlemihl*, etc.), for the Clarendon Press, [2]1888.

The fact that he was so successful as an editor is perhaps—apart from his fine feeling for poetry and his rare talent of lucid exposition—due to some extent to the large amount of experience he had with all kinds of examinations. The helps which students, especially such as are compelled to work without a teacher, stand in need of, the typical shortcomings of candidates, the frequent mistakes of teachers, the painful want of appreciation and of a general grasp of the subject on the part of students—repeated observations of such a kind may have suggested to him many a capital note, and the experience thus accumulated must have caused him to make various additions or improvements in subsequent editions of his commentaries.

He was examiner to the University of London three times for periods of five years each. He examined for the Universities of Cambridge, Oxford, Victoria, the University of New Zealand, the College of Preceptors, and a number of other public examining bodies in this country and in Ireland. The amount of useful and stimulating influence which can be exercised on schools and universities by able and painstaking examiners, is very great, and Buchheim has in this respect too deserved well of the teachers and students of German.

At the present moment he is engaged on a political history of Germany, and has begun the final revision of all his books for the Clarendon Press. The former work reminds us of an earlier essay of his on 'The Political Course of the Reformation,' which he contributed in 1883 to the Rev. Dr. Wace's book called *First Principles of the Reformation*. Buchheim also added to this work a spirited translation of Luther's first great reformatory pamphlet 'An den christlichen Adel deutscher Nation von des geistlichen Standes Besserung.'

For nearly half a century Professor Buchheim has made his home on these shores, and during that time he has energetically seized every opportunity of promoting friendly relations, based on a right understanding and mutual just appreciation, between England and Germany. With this object in view, and a deep insight into the true character of either nation, he has written a number of valuable essays on England and the English, in German magazines, and has contributed many appreciative articles on German life, thought, art, and literature to various English papers.

Thus the Professor of the German Language and Literature has not contented himself with merely teaching these two subjects as such, but has invariably had before his eyes the higher aim of explaining, by means of its language and literature, the true spirit and the noblest aspirations of the German nation. The years have not subdued his energy and untiring industry, and he still manages to work about ten hours a day. It is the sincere wish of all his colleagues, and of all those interested in the further development of the study of German in this country, that he may long be spared to continue cheerfully his fruitful work, and inspire younger teachers and learners with something of his own true enthusiasm for all that is elevated and beautiful, deep and tender in the German language and its literature.

* * * * *

Since the above notice was written, some six months ago, Professor Buchheim has gradually lost strength, and on Thursday June 7th his long and busy life closed.

KARL BREUL.

THE GOETHEFEIER AT FRANKFURT AM MAIN.

'ELISABETH, er lebt!' On August 28, 1749, Grandmother Textor gave in those words the joyful tidings that the man-child, brought as dead into the world, was after all alive. No birth could have been less propitious, no new-born infant have given less promise of future greatness. Yet not only did the Goethe-child live, but he still lives to-day, and 150 years after we see the whole of Frankfurt—a Frankfurt sevenfold increased in numbers—rise up with one consent to do him honour, and the eyes of the cultured world directed to the city of his birth, and watching with approval the homage she pays to 'her greatest son.'

Goethe still lives—lives with every decade more fully in the lives of those individuals and peoples of whose mind and thought he has become an essential and inalienable part; and just as he was in his lifetime 'der universale Mensch,' so now, in this greater life after death, his influence is universal. Upon those who have drunk of his spirit that influence acts through the one facet of his genius that meets the

demands of their individual tendency; and while all can read in him their own beliefs and views, they are too apt to forget that in him humanity was whole, and not seen through the focus of personal modes of thought.

It is this universality of Goethe's genius and creation that is ever to be kept steadily in view, for by it and by no other standard must be measured the prospect of his living not only among his own and kindred peoples, in his own and the next following generations, but for all men and for all time —his prospect of immortality.

The probability of even this, that Goethe is the last who has been vouchsafed us in the line of the greatest of all ages—the follower of Shakespeare in that succession—is being discussed with every decade more seriously by those who are worthy of judging in such a matter. If this be so, how privileged are we, who, even if we cannot trace with our own eyes the growth and development of this universal spirit, may almost fancy we do so, so near is he to our own day, in so clear a light was that great life lived, so faithful have been the labours of those who have helped to build up the monument worthy of the man, regarding themselves justly as the keepers of a sacred trust.

From this point of view it is that Goethe will acquire for the thinking man not merely a great (for others can claim that) but a supreme interest, as the only one among these greatest at whose birth he can be present, whose development he can follow, with whom he can wander through the years of his wonderful boyhood among the scenes and in the streets of the picturesque old city of his birth, whom he can watch in the making both from within and from without, both from his own confessions and from the manifestations of himself which formed the man his friends could see in him. For such a devoted student the town of Frankfurt will become a centre of absorbing interest, and the recent festival held there a phenomenon of the greatest significance.

'To think that he was only a poet,' was remarked by one who was struck by the wonderful enthusiasm of all classes, and in that remark the right note is happily given. That was indeed the real significance of the wonderful demonstration called forth by the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Goethe's birth in his proud and most truly appreciative native town. It was not a movement behind which lay any political significance, it was not promoted by any one at all in the interests of any other, it was not the work of a class within the community—it was a great and spontaneous outburst of the enthusiasm of the whole population of a great and flourishing and, let me add, to a great extent mercantile town, in their unbounded pride at having given to the world a treasure beyond price.

Nor was that poet one who made in any way a bid for the suffrage of the multitude, but, on the contrary, one whose strength lay in his lofty idealism, one who could in no way be charged with that lowering and debasing of the great and sublime with which more than one popular poet has bought a cheap and unworthy fame.

As for the form which the Goethefeier assumed in Frankfurt, that is ancient history to many. The actual anniversary fell on the Monday, but the more popular demonstration was advanced a day in order to enable the people to take a fuller part. The great feature was a monster procession through the principal streets, composed of two hundred different bodies and corporations and composing all the different elements that in Germany go to make up such a civic show. Arrived at the 'Denkmal' in the Goetheplatz, wreaths were laid at the foot of the poet's statue, while at intervals the 'Frankfurter Sängervereinigung' sang Goethe Lieder—Über allen Gipfeln ist Ruh, Röslein roth, and others.

The town 'Denkmünze' struck for the occasion bore on the face a head of Goethe and inscription; on the reverse, two female figures representing Dichtung and Wahrheit —Poetry with a lyre, and naked Truth beholding herself in a mirror.

The popular enthusiasm naturally found vent in an abundant decoration of the streets and buildings of the town, characteristic, among much that was inevitable, being the mottoes and devices taken from the poet's works, expressing the warmth of the popular feeling towards 'Frankfurts zugleich Liebling und Abgott.' The famous house in the Hirschgraben was very simply adorned with wreaths of fir looped beneath the windows, while the 'Gedenktafel' over the entrance, with its simple inscription, 'In diesem Hause wurde Johann Wolfgang Goethe am 28ten August 1749 geboren,' was entwined with a garland of laurels.

In the evening an enormous 'Fackelzug,' in which 12,000 persons took part, gave another opportunity for the display of popular feeling.

On the actual anniversary the event of interest was a 'Festmahl' in the Palmengarten, at which speeches were made by guests and deputies from all parts of Germany, claiming their lot and portion in the man they were met to celebrate. Nor was Germany alone represented—'der pangermanische Ton wurde angeschlagen,' and we did not remain behind, the Anglo-Saxons finding a worthy spokesman in Dr. H. G. Fiedler of Mason University College, Birmingham, who was intrusted with greetings from the trustees of the Shakespeare house at Stratford-upon-Avon. The message he delivered ran: 'The memory of the two great national dramatists acts as a bond of union between the two nations, and I am sure that I am echoing the feelings of all loyal Shakespearians in Stratford-upon-Avon, when I ask you to convey to our friends at Frankfort sincere congratulations on this auspicious occasion'—and both message and speech were received with a storm of applause.

Such were the main features of the truly remarkable celebration at Frankfurt in August last year. Remarkable it certainly was in more ways than one, but in none so much as in the evidence it gave that Goethe's spirit and Goethe's idealism have not only won the cultured classes, and taken firm hold of the intelligent among the citizens, but are fast sinking into the life of the German people itself. When the whole population of a busy town can hail the opportunity of showing its affectionate pride in a great and ideal poet, it is indeed a remarkable testimony to its inner life and thought.

Goethe still lives! It no longer requires the aid of societies to preserve his memory, no middlemen to come between him and the multitude, for the people have begun to make him their own. He still lives, and probably his countrymen are not unjustified in their hopes when they apply to him the words he puts in the mouth of his own greatest creation:

> 'Es kann die Spur von meinen Erdetagen
> Nicht in Aeonen untergehn!'

HENRY GIBSON ATKINS.

SPENSER AND PURITANISM.—I.

THE Renaissance and the Reformation both made war upon the mediæval Church, and this fact has served the purpose of grouping them together in the popular mind, but they were, as a matter of fact, based on opposing principles.

The Renaissance was a revival of ancient learning and ancient thought, of the classical, of what might be called, in distinction to the Christian, the 'pagan' spirit: the Reformation was essentially a return to a purer morality, to a more primitive and inspired form of religion; it was a revival of Christianity.

In England the opposing character of these two great movements cannot be clearly discerned, for in England they developed side by side, the one correcting and transforming the other.

What the tendency of the Reformation was, if left to itself, we can see if we turn to Italy. In that country there was no religious revival. The Church of the Middle Ages had become, in large measure, corrupt. Centuries of supremacy had sapped its vigour and spiritual power; it had concentrated itself more and more upon outward forms, and though still retaining unchallenged dominion over the minds of men, had lost the power of inspiring and entrancing them.

And, with religion thus formalised, there came the new learning, full of freshness, of promise, and of charm. It brought back the old delight in the beauty of the world, the joy in life lived merely for the sake of living, and it brought back inevitably something of the old attitude of mind, the concentration in the present world and the disbelief in or disregard of any future.

The Church did not know how to protest. There was nothing formal that it could lay hold of to oppose; humanism introduced no definite scheme of thought, it contradicted no ecclesiastical doctrine, but it revealed to the minds of men a world where these doctrines had no existence; it did not oppose Christianity, but it taught the habit of ignoring religion.

The spirit of humanism, the joy in life and in man, was an admirable thing, but it had its peculiar dangers; obviously a revival of delight in the natural world is always dangerous unless accompanied by a revival of moral feeling and restraint. Humanism undermined and swept away the old moral

ideals, and put nothing efficient in their place.

The Church was weakened and already half corrupt; it had lost its old inspiration, and instead of contending with the spirit of revolt, either to subdue or to transform, became itself invaded by that spirit.

The outward forms of religion were strenuously insisted upon, but the inner life perished. Rome, which should have been the centre of Christianity, was given over to scepticism, to immorality, and to worldliness; its clergy did not believe in the services they administered, and its Popes trafficked shamelessly in their own highest prerogatives.

By the fifteenth century the Renaissance reigned in Italy without any opposing or correcting force; it had its blossoming time, but it bore bitter fruit. Italy became the centre of learning and of the fine arts, but it spent itself in the effort. 'The enjoyment of intellectual and artistic pleasures, the comforts and elegancies of life, and the supreme interests of self-development, destroyed or hampered the love of country.'[1]

The enjoyment of life for its own sake easily passes into licence, and humanism had not been long established before purity became, with certain aspects of it, a matter of no import at all.

Beccadelli's *Hermaphroditus* was a poem of infamous character, but it brought its author high reputation, and he was crowned by the Emperor Sigismund in 1433.[2]

The Italy of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries counts in her catalogue of famous writers some of the most shameless in the world.

It is only necessary to mention Aretino, courted for very dread of his scurrility; while in Machiavelli the very absence of intentional offence makes more striking the complete ignoring of morality as an aim in government.

The Renaissance was a revival of the classical spirit with all its charm and with more than all its dangers, because a revival unaccompanied by the ideals of temperance and restraint, which had corrected it and ennobled it in Greece and Rome.

The Reformation was a return to the earlier spirit of Christianity; it was, in essentials, a protest against the abuses of the mediæval Church, and, though it always transformed the Renaissance more or less where they came in contact, it was only in its extremest aspect of Puritanism that it definitely made war upon that spirit.

The main doctrines of the Reformation seem to have sprung naturally out of the abuses of Catholicism.

The mediæval Church had an elaborate ceremonial and an elaborate system of morality: it was not enough that the believer had fervent faith; he must be reminded of it by numberless acts of devotion, and he must prove it by the performance of 'good works,' the latter being carefully grouped and catalogued.

There were thus a multitude of outward observances, and with the course of time these became stereotyped; religion grew more and more a matter of ceremonial, of prayers, fasts, and absolutions.

It was a system which, among ignorant people, lent itself readily to the worst abuses.

Chaucer, with his Sompnour and Pardoner, shows us to what lengths roguery could go, and the sale of Indulgences, which roused Luther's wrath, was only an extreme example of what were common practices all over Europe.

In addition to the immoralities of the Catholic Church, there were also its superstitions. No intelligent man would pay to the Virgin or the saints the same reverence that he paid to Deity; but among the mass of the people, local saints and images were in all essentials worshipped, and Catholicism had become a new sort of paganism, with a Pantheon differently but as richly furnished as that of the Greeks.

Against these two abuses, that of merely formal religion and that of Virgin and saint worship, the main doctrines of the Reformation were levelled.

Luther's keystone[3] is the justification by faith. Unbelief is the true and real mortal sin. Everything that is truly good, he insists, we owe to God, and he denies that any merit attaches to good works.

They are only the fruit of faith: man has freewill to a certain extent, but he has no power, without the help of the Holy Spirit, to do that which is righteous in the sight of God.

Luther thus attempts to make formalism in religion impossible, by insisting that the main thing is not something outward which can be shown, but something inward which must be felt.

This justification by faith is a return to mysticism. This is a positive contribution,

[1] Burckhardt, *Renaissance in Italy.*
[2] Symonds, *Renaissance in Italy.*
[3] Hagenbach, *History of the Reformation.*

but in the main, the Lutheran reform was negative; Luther saw the abuses of the Catholic Church, and swept away the causes which led to them.

The Pope had used his supreme authority in the Church, to further worldly ends, and Luther denied the authority of the Pope: the doctrine of purgatory had led to the infamies of the indulgence system, and he denied purgatory: the monastic orders had sunk into idleness and vice, and he abolished them: the priests had made their celibacy a cloak for immoralities; he did away with it, and substituted marriage.

The Reformation was in Luther's hands very largely a system of overthrow, and its doctrines were grouped loosely round certain definite protests.

By Calvin it was developed into a world-conquering power. He rendered a double service to Protestantism; he systematised its doctrine and he organised its ecclesiastical discipline, so, for the first time, giving it a solidarity which could be opposed to that of Rome.

Just as Luther had been mainly inspired by opposition to the formalism of the old religion, and had arrived at his doctrine of justification by faith, so Calvin protested with the utmost vigour against the Virgin and saint worship, against the Christian paganism of the Middle Ages; his doctrine was essentially an attempt to bring man face to face with God by suppressing intermediaries and to convince him of his nothingness when so opposed.

The doctrine of predestination had been originally held in common by all reformers, however different their standpoints might be, but it was not insisted upon by the Lutherans. Calvin seized on it as the centre of his system, the only logical deduction from the infinity of God. Calvin further defended his tenets by a close system of church discipline.

The Catholic Church had been constructed on an aristocratic model; the priesthood were a class consecrated and set apart, and in the class itself there were degrees and there were dignitaries who had the right of ruling over others. To the reformers in general, and to Calvin in particular, there was only one class in Christianity: every Christian was, by virtue of his belief alone, a priest of God, and it was for the sake of convenience merely that some were specially deputed to perform the priestly functions. To Calvin, moreover, there was no aristocracy in the Church: the government lay with the whole body of believers, and those only had any rights whom they chose to represent them.

Calvinism, once formulated, spread rapidly. Outside Germany and Italy the Reformation generally took this direction. In England, after Elizabeth's accession, religious opinion became more and more Calvinistic.

The masterful Calvinistic logic was the only system which offered a definite enough opposition to Rome: those who cared much for religion inevitably drifted towards it, and it was very generally accepted.

The Church of England remained mediæval in its ritual and government, but it was at the beginning Calvinistic in theology.

At the very moment Whitgift was prosecuting Puritans for not conforming, he complained that there were still doubts about the theology, and proposed to set them at rest by drawing up an additional set of articles. These were the famous 'Lambeth Articles,'[1] and were very strongly Calvinistic.

These articles were rejected, mainly through the influence of the Queen; but that they could be drawn up by an archbishop, in expectation of their being recognised, is proof positive what the theology of the English Church, even by its own highest dignitaries, was generally understood to be. The Church in its earlier days was Calvinistic in theology, and Puritanism was only an attempt to reduce it to the Calvinistic model in other respects.

There was first the contest about vestments, and when some compromise had

[1] (1) Deus ab aeterno praedestinavit quosdam ad vitam, et quosdam ad mortem reprobavit.

(2) Causa movens aut efficiens praedestinationis ad vitam non est praevisio fidei, aut perseverantiae, aut bonorum operum, aut ullius rei, quae insit in personis praedestinatis sed sola voluntas beneplaciti Dei.

(3) Praedestinatorum praefinitus et certus numerus est, qui nec augeri nec minui potest.

(4) Qui non sunt praedestinati ad salutem necessario propter peccata sua damnabuntur.

(5) Vera, viva, justificans fides, et Spiritus Dei sanctificans non extinguitur, non excidit, non evanescit in electis, aut finaliter, aut totaliter.

(6) Homo vere fidelis, id est, fide justificante praeditus, certus est plerophoria fidei, de remissione peccatorum suorum, et salute sempiterna sua per Christum.

(7) Gratia salutaris non tribuitur, non communicatur, non conceditur universis hominibus, qua servari possint, si voluerint.

(8) Nemo potest venire ad Christum, nisi datum ei fuerit, et nisi Pater eum traxerit. Et omnes homines non trahuntur à Patre ut veniant ad Filium.

(9) Non est positum in arbitrio aut potestate uniuscujusque homiuis servari.

been arrived at on this point, there arose the question of Church government. The Puritans wished to abolish Episcopacy, and, when they were thwarted in that attempt, they tried to introduce the Genevan discipline in such a manner as to destroy the power of the bishops, though they could not destroy the office.

In 1582 the system was formally established in full working order; a board of Puritan clergy was formed in each district, called a 'classis' or conference, and provision was made for the consolidation of these classes into a national assembly.

The classis had the power of deciding how much ceremonial the minister should be able to use, and it decided also on the qualifications of candidates for the ministry and gave them their 'call.' Afterwards they were to apply to the Bishop for their legal title.

The truth is, that the position of the Church of England, Calvinistic in theology but mediæval in government, was an illogical one, and this the Church itself recognised, for before the Civil Wars it had thrown aside its Calvinism and adopted Arminian doctrine.

Puritanism was an agitation for moral reform, or for what it believed to be moral reform, inside the Church, but it also had a sphere outside the Church which was to make war generally upon the lighter spirit of the Renaissance, to object to pageants, dancing, masques, love-poetry, and, above all, to the drama.

However much this may be deprecated, there can be no doubt that, from a religious point of view, the Puritans were right. The drama, even in Marlowe and Shakespeare, stood wholly apart from any specific religious influence.

Marlowe's atheism may be nothing more than tradition, but it rests on a definite truth, namely, that the ideas of Christianity are in the main foreign to the ideas that inspire his work. The same is hardly less true of Shakespeare: if he is not opposed, neither is he in favour; he stands apart from the whole field; where, as in *Hamlet*, he deals with philosophical speculation, it is distinctly non-Christian in character.

If the drama was thus sceptical, and disposed to ignore religion in the days of its glory, it was not likely to alter as time went on.

The course of the later, the Jacobean, drama of Beaumont and Fletcher, Webster and Ford, was more and more in the direction the Puritans deprecated, and the foul stage of the Restoration is, from one point of view, only the culmination of a long-continued process.

If we sum up the main characteristics of Puritanism we shall find them to be three—(1) Calvinism in doctrine, (2) Calvinism in discipline, and (3) opposition to the purely Renaissance, what might be called, in distinction to the Christian, the 'pagan' spirit.

To turn to Spenser. If we wish to ascertain what his position was with regard to the contending parties of his time, we must ascertain, so far as is possible, his views on each of the three points enumerated above.

First comes the question of doctrine, and here we are met with a difficulty at the outset. Spenser's poem is a great moral allegory, meant to warn against vice and to instruct in virtue, but it is not meant to teach theology; unlike the poet of *Paradise Lost*, he gives no definite statement of his doctrine, though it makes itself evident here and there in various portions of the *Faery Queen*.

We may say generally that Spenser accepted the Calvinism which was, as has been pointed out, the common creed of the day.

The root idea of Calvinism lies in its continual contrast between the immeasurable power of God and the insignificance of man.

God is omnipotent. Nothing can be done against His will or without Him. Hence it follows that He has ordained everything on earth, the evil as well as the good.

> 'No evil happens which He Himself has not made.'[1]
>
> 'Whatever is done, is done by God.'[1]

Events come to pass because He has, from all eternity, willed them so. This is fatalism, but it differs from the old classical fate; it is not the product of an unknown necessity, carrying men they know not whither, but it is the will of a Being infinitely wise and infinitely good.

The 'fate' of Calvinism is nothing else than the will of God; it must never be contended with; it must always be accepted, and accepted with joy. Man must not raise a hand against it, he must work with it and submit.

Further, Calvinism lays stress on the total perversion of man's nature; Adam was gifted with freewill, but he misused it, and

[1] Calvin, *Institutes*, Book I.

his sin has entailed the consequences of sin upon all his descendants.

'The uncleanuess of the parents passes into the children, and all, without exception, are defiled at their birth.'[1]

Everything worthy of praise that appears in man is the work of grace.

'Man has not freewill to do good works unless he is helped by grace, and that by special grace, which is given only to the elect by regeneration.'[2]
'It is not yet made plain whether he is altogether deprived of power, or whether he has some power, but so weak that it can do nothing of itself.'[3]

These two main ideas of Calvinism, predestination, or a fate which is the will of God, and grace, or the assistance vouchsafed to man, who can do nothing of himself, run through the whole of the *Faery Queen*. There is no definite setting forth, but they underlie all Spenser's conception of the strife between the forces of good and evil.

That similar subjects played a large part in his mind we can see from the fact that Fidelia discourses in the House of Holiness

'Of God, of grace, of justice, of freewill.'[4]

In the sixteenth century a discussion on freewill generally meant predestination, as in Milton, who represents his fallen angels conversing

'Of fate, freewill, foreknowledge absolute.'

There is a very Calvinistic tone in the speech of the Red Cross Knight when tempted by Despair. The knight has come upon one of the victims of Despair flying in terror; he approaches the cave and discovers the 'wicked wight' sitting on the ground with a corpse, still bleeding, beside him. He breaks into angry threats, but Despair pleads that he has done a good service to the dead man in helping him away from the miseries of life; there may be some little pain in the passage, but it is worth while, for it brings long ease.

The Red Cross Knight, just delivered from the dungeons of Orgoglio, is struck by his arguments, but pleads that man is appointed to his place and cannot leave it. Moreover, everything in life is God's appointment: everything that is done is done by Him: he has created all men to die again; their times are written in the book of fate and cannot be altered: no man can strive with necessity or shun the death that destiny has ordained.[5]

According to Spenser everything contributes to the preconceived design, and even his Platonic love is pressed into the service.

'The fatall purpose of divine foresight
Thou docst effect in destined descents,
Through deepe impression of thy secret might.'[6]

The conversation of Glaucé and Merlin, when discussing Britomart's destiny, is full of the same ideas.

Glaucé says, on their meeting with the enchanter:

'for *either fatall end*
Or other mightie cause, us two did hither send.'[7]

And Merlin assures Britomart that it was not chance which led her to see the face of Artegall, but

'*the streight course of hevenly destiny*
Led with eternall providence that has
Guyded thy glaunce, to bring his will to pas,
. . . submit thy wayes unto his will
And doe by all dew meanes thy destiny fulfil.'[7]

Glaucé asks why there is need of that if the fates can make way for themselves, and Merlin answers that they cannot be altered, but still men should work with them:

'Indeede the fates are firme
And may not shrinck, though all the world do shake,
Yet ought men's good endeavours them confirme,
And guide the heavenly causes to their constant terme.'[8]

Belphœbe finds her squire in sore distress, altered until she cannot recognise him; she asks what has made him so wretched, the injuries of a fellow man or the anger of heaven:

'If heaven, then none may it redresse or blame,
Sith to his powre we all are subject borne.'

This same kind of fatalism is the argument Spenser brings against theories of communism. Artegall meets a giant who wishes to level all things, and distribute the goods of rich men among the poor. The knight

[1] Calvin, *Institutes*, Book II.
[2] Calvin, *Institutes*, Book II.
[3] Calvin, *Institutes*, Book II.
[4] *Faery Queen* (I. x. 19).

[5] '*Is not his deed, what ever thing is donne*
In heaven and earth? Did not he all create
To die againe? All ends that was begonne!
Their times in his eternall book of fate
Are written sure and have their certein date.
Who then can strive with strong necessitie
That holds the world in his still chaunging state,
Or shunne the death ordayned by destinie?
When houre of death is come, let none aske whence nor why.'—*Faery Queen* (I. ix. 42).
[6] *Faery Queen* (III. iii. 2).
[7] *Faery Queen* (III. iii. 15).
[8] *Faery Queen* (III. iii. 25).

expostulates with him and argues, not that such a course of procedure would be bad, but that the existing state of things is ordained and must not be tampered with. All things live and die as God has willed; He sets kings in sovereignty and He makes their subjects obey them: whatever is done is done by Him, no one can withstand His will; what seems unjust cannot be called to account, for His counsel is past understanding.[1]

Predestination is not absent from the minor poems; it occurs in *Muiopotmos*:

> '*And whatso heavens in their secret doome*
> *Ordained have*, how can fraile fleshly wight
> Forecast, but it must needs to issue come?'

So in the *Dolefull Lay of Clorinda*, Clorinda asks to whom she can complain: not to the heavens, for they foresaw misfortune, yet suffered it to come; they send ill as well as good. Men are subject to the heavens' ordinance and bound to suffer whatever they decree.[2]

The *Mourning Muse of Thestylis* is still stronger:

> '*No humble speech, nor mone may move the fixed stint*
> *Of destinie or death* . . .
> . . . But if thy will be bent,
> *If that prefixed time be come which thou hast set*,
> Through pure and fervent faith, I hope now to be plast
> In th' everlasting blis.'

Spenser is always fatalistic, but his fatalism is not invariably religious in expression; sometimes it takes the classical tone.

There are hints of this in the passages already quoted, and it is still more evident elsewhere.

Thus he speaks of:

> 'The chayne of strong necessitie
> Which fast is tyde to Jove's eternall seat.'[1]

Probably a reminiscence of Boethius by way of Chaucer, and when the fay Agapé goes to plead for the lives of her sons she is answered:

> 'Not so! for what the Fates do once decree,
> Not all the gods can chaunge, nor Jove himself can free.'[2]

The two ideas, the classical fate and the predestination of Calvinism, seem to have run together in his mind; most frequently he expresses himself in the manner of the former, but for poetical purposes he can employ either.

This fatalism is in essence religious. It brings with it a submission, a willing submission to the inevitable; his heroes struggle hard against all kinds of foes; but they never dream of contending against destiny. Whatever it ordains is for the best; it is always on the side of the good, for, in Spenser's conception of the world, the good even in material things are conquerors in the end.

We see the exact contrary of this in Marlowe, whose plays glorify above all else the individual will, and in whom at least two — *Faustus* and the *Jew of Malta* — represent a struggle against destiny by a passionately ambitious soul, and owe their interest to the strength of conflict.

Spenser never represents such a strife; he does not depreciate the severity of natural laws, they are with him simply to be accepted and obeyed.

We may say he accepts the Calvinistic idea, that God is an absolute ruler, the idea of predestination; he accepts also the correlating theory that man is given over to wretchedness, and can do nothing except as the instrument of divine grace.

In the *Tears of the Muses*, Melpomene laments in the extremest Puritan style over the wretched world and the miserable men who are 'the vassals of God's wrath.'

> 'Ah, wretched world! the den of wickednesse,
> Deform'd with filth and fowle iniquitie;
> Ah! wretched world! the house of heavinesse,
> Fild with the wrecks of mortall miserie;
> Ah! wretched world! and all that is therein,
> The vassals of God's wrath and slaves of sin.'

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[1] 'All in the powre of their great Maker lie,
All creatures must obey the voice of the Most High.

They live, they die, like as he doth ordaine,
Ne ever asketh any reason why.

. . . . . .

What ever thing is donne by him is donne,
Ne any may his mighty will withstand;
Ne any may his soveraine power shonne
Ne loose that he hath bound with stedfast band.
In vaine therefore doest thou now take in hand
To call to count, or weigh his works anew,
Whose counsel's depth thou canst not understand.'—*Faery Queen* (V. ii. 40, 41, 42).

[2] 'To heavens? ah! they alas! the authors were,
And workers of my unremédied woe!
For they foresee what to us happens here,
And they foresaw, yet suffred this be so.
From them comes good, from them comes also ill.'

And as for men—

> 'Ah! they alas! like wretched bee,
> And subject to the heavens ordinance,
> Bound to abide whatever they decree.'
> —*Lay of Clorinda.*

[1] *Faery Queen* (I. v. 25). See also Chaucer, *Knight's Tale* (l. 2987).

[2] *Faery Queen* (IV. ii. 51).

In similar strain is the lament of the dying Daphne:

'Our daies are full of dolor and disease,
Our life afflicted with incessant paine,
That nought on earth may lessen or appease.'[1]

The doctrine of inherited sin is continually present to Spenser's mind, so continually that Prince Arthur cannot refrain from preaching it to Cymochles when there does not appear to be much necessity.

'The evill donne
Dyes not, when breath the body first doth leave!
But from the grandsyre to the Nephewes sonne
And all his seed, the curse doth often cleave,
Till vengeance utterly the guilt bereave:
So streightly God doth judge.'

This condition of sin and misery is, Spenser believes, the natural state of man; and when his knights achieve any great quest, they disclaim their own prowess and ascribe all glory to God.

When the Palmer congratulates the Red Cross Knight on his slaying of the dragon he replies:

'This be the praise that this atchiev'ment wrought
Who made my hand the organ of his might,
More than goodwill to me attribute nought.'[2]

And in another passage the poet, still more carefully than his hero, explains that not only the power but also the will to use it is the will of God.[3] In other words the man himself is helpless, and has, if we examine closely, not even the merit of his good intentions. And this lesson of humility is always insisted upon. Spenser will not allow us to think that the strongest of his heroes, the magnificent Prince Arthur himself, could rely on his own strength. He is overthrown, and would be slain but for the resistance of his squire, and so the motto is pointed that the greatest and most glorious man has no strength of his own except only through grace.[4]

On the doctrines of election and reprobation Spenser lays no stress; nevertheless they seem to have been present to his mind; the whole system of the *Faery Queen*, with its contrast between the righteous knights of Gloriana on the one hand and the Paynims and foul monsters on the other, agrees curiously well with Calvin's sharp division between elect and non-elect, and there are hints enough to show that Spenser, when he spoke on the matter at all, did identify his Knights of Maidenhead with the elect and their enemies with the lost.

When the Red Cross Knight is overcome by the arguments of Despair, he takes up the knife to put an end to himself, and Una snatches it away and cries to him to remember

'In heavenly mercies hast thou not a part?
Why shouldst thou then despeire that chosen art?'[5]

On the contrary side, Malbecco has no choice but sin and misery, and when he throws himself over the precipice it is

'All desperate of his *fore damned spright.*'

There is no intermingling between the two classes in Spenser; the righteous man may be entrapped by sin for a time, the Red Cross Knight, Guyon and Artegall, all in some manner yield to temptation, but in the end they are delivered and victorious. There is no such thing as the final destruction of any one who begins well, and, on the other hand, the evil are irredeemably evil.

Probably Spenser's mind had a tendency to this keen though illogical opposition, and probably also his religious system aided him in no small degree.

We may conclude that he accepted the doctrines of Calvinism, though on their

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[1] *Daphnaïda.*

[2] *Faery Queen* (II. i. 33).

[3] 'What man is he, that boasts of fleshly might
And vaine assuraunce of mortality,
Which, all so soone as it doth come to fight
Against spirituall foes, yields by and by,
Or from the fielde most cowardly doth fly.
Ne let the man ascribe it to his skill
That thorough grace hath gained victory!
If any strength we have, it is to ill,
But all the good is God's, both power and eke will.'—*Faery Queen* (I. x. 1).

[4] 'So greatest and most glorious thing on ground
May often need the helpe of weaker hand,
So feeble is man's state and life unsound,
That in assurance it may never stand
Till it dissolved be from earthly band.
Proofe be thou, Prince, the proudest man alyve,
And noblest born of all in Bretagne land,
Yet thee fierce Fortune did so nearly drive,
That, had not grace thee blest, thou shouldest not survive.'—*Faery Queen* (II. xi. 30).

See in connection Milton, *Paradise Lost*, Bk. IV.:

'By me upheld that he may know how frail
His fall'n condition is, and to me owe
All his deliv'rance and to none but me.'

Also *Faery Queen* (I. viii. 1):

'Ay me! how many perils doe enfold
The righteous man, to make him daily fall,
Were not that heavenly grace doth him uphold
And stedfast truth acquite him out of all.
Her love is firm, her care continuall
So oft as he through his own foolish pride
Or weakness is to sinfull bands made thrall.'

There may be in this last verse the Calvinistic idea of persistence, that truth can never be lost by the man to whom it has once been granted.

[5] *Faery Queen* (I. ix. 53); (II. x. 56).

extremer aspect he lays no stress. On the question of church discipline he was strongly Puritan, nor is it to be wondered at. No man who cared much about religion was likely to take kindly to Elizabeth's settlement at the time it was made; it was a compromise, a halting house between Rome and Geneva, neither one thing nor the other.

The real strength of the Church of England lay in its combination of reform with historical continuity, it being in the latter that Hooker found its greatest claim to his reverence; but historical continuity could hardly be very evident to people before whose eyes radical changes were taking place.

The English Church in the beginning satisfied hardly any one but politicians: devout minds were naturally attracted to one extreme or the other: either they were Catholics and clung to Rome in spite of all its faults, or they embraced the full Reformation and cried for Geneva and Calvin.

It was the latter party who formed the Puritans. They did not at first think of seceding from the national Church; they conformed to it, but they hoped in a few years to make it radically different from what it was.

It was into the midst of this party that Spenser was thrown at Cambridge in the most impressionable period of his youth. We may surmise that his natural tendency would have been towards them in any case, and that, if he embraced the Reformation at all, he would embrace it on its extremest side.

He was born to be a partisan; his intense earnestness, his uncritical habit of regarding the world through a kind of halo cast by his own mind, his generosity, his loyal enthusiasm, all drove him the same way. Impartiality depends on critical clearness of mind, and, in all except its highest aspects, is a good deal helped by indifference of heart. Spenser possessed neither, nor was the heated world into which he entered likely to give him any meed of impartiality not naturally his.

Cambridge had from the beginning been one of the chief centres of the Reformation in England. There was considerable intercourse between Germany and the eastern coast towns; Luther's doctrines seem to have entered the country and spread from the east. Cambridge had thus early become a centre of Lutheran teaching, and, shortly before Spenser went up as an undergraduate, it had developed into a centre of Puritanism.

One of the most eloquent preachers in England was Thomas Cartwright, whom Strype describes as 'the head and most learned of that sect of Dissenters then called Puritans.'[1] The whole of the university was distracted by religious disputes, and Cartwright, with his eloquence and strong convictions, took a prominent part. He first attacked ecclesiastical vestments. 'In 1565 the fellows and scholars of St. John's, to the number of nearly three hundred, appeared in the college chapel without their surplices, and their example was shortly after followed at Trinity. The latter breach of discipline was ascribed to the effect produced by three sermons which Cartwright had preached in the college chapel.'[2]

Some troubles arose, and Cartwright left Cambridge for a time and went to Ireland. He returned in 1569, and was appointed Lady Margaret Professor.

'Both in the chair and in the pulpit he began to criticise and denounce the constitution and hierarchy of the English Church, comparing them with those of the primitive Christian organisations. . . . He was answered from the pulpit by Whitgift, but in oratorical power Cartwright was generally acknowledged to be the superior. St. Mary's was thronged with excited listeners, and the party which sympathised with his views was probably at that time numerically the strongest in the university.'[3]

'Cartwright,' says Strype, 'had infected the minds of the scholars of the younger sort with mighty prejudices against the Episcopal government.'[4]

It is noticeable that 1569, the year when Cartwright returned to Cambridge, was the very year in which Spenser matriculated at Pembroke Hall. He was thus thrown into the thick of all the disputes, and was doubtless one of the crowd of eager listeners at St. Mary's, a crowd which was sometimes so large that the chapel windows had to be removed when Cartwright preached.

Spenser was in the very centre of the contest, and there is evidence enough in his earlier work to show that he threw himself heart and soul into the cause of Cartwright, and sided with the Puritans both in their denouncing of the Episcopal system and in their fierce anger against the abuses of the Church.

For the Puritan invective did not rest

[1] *Life of Whitgift.*
[2] *Dic. Nat. Biog.*, Art. 'Cartwright.'
[3] *Dic. Nat. Biog.*, Art. 'Cartwright.'
[4] *Life of Whitgift.*

on merely empty grounds. It had a very solid foundation.

One of the crimes of the Catholic Church had been its pomp.

'The people were stung to hatred through the luxury of Wolsey and others like him, while the country was covered with gibbets bearing the bodies of poor wretches executed simply for the crime of begging.'[1]

Luxury of this kind was made possible by the large incomes enjoyed by the higher dignitaries of the Church, and the Puritans believed it ought to be rendered impossible once and for all. Moreover, the mass of the clergy were either indifferent or corrupt, and the system gave rise to the most intolerable abuses.

Mother Hubberd's Tale shows us both what these abuses were and how bitterly Spenser thought of them.

When the Fox and the Ape have discovered that begging is an unprofitable occupation, because no one will give and all men blame them, they seek another way to make a living:

'Much like to begging, but much better named,'

and, as a preliminary, they assume cassock and gown.

They meet a Priest and ask him for advice. He tells them it should be easy; they can speak well and pass themselves off as having learning, nothing more is necessary; they may rise in time to be deans, archdeacons, lords, principals, prebendaries.[2]

The tone of contempt in which the different dignitaries of the Church are mentioned is worthy of notice.

However, to return to the narrative, the Ape objects that the care of men's souls is a difficult thing; the Priest says 'not at all,' and explains why; they have no exacting services, they may wear the richest clothes.

'With the finest silks us to array
That before God we may appeare more gay,
Resembling Aaron's glorie in his place'—

and they are not tied to chastity.

The Fox is prevailed upon to become a parson, and asks for instructions how to get a benefice; he is told he must apply to some nobleman who likes to appear zealous in religion; he must put on a pious and saint-like appearance, and be very humble:

'Fast much, pray oft, looke lowly on the ground,
And unto everie one doo curtesie meeke.'

Or, on the other hand, he may go directly to the court, but in that case he must behave quite differently:

'For there thou needs must learne to laugh, to lie,
To face, to forge, to scoff, to companie,
To crouch, to please, to be a beetle stock
Of thy great Master's will, to scorne or mock,
So maist thou chaunce mock out a Benefice.'

Livings can be got in court, but a hard price must be paid for them, nothing there being done without a fee:

'The Courtier needs must recompensed bee
With a Benevolence, or have in gage
The Primitias of your Parsonage;
Scarse can a Bishoprick forpas them by
But that it must be gelt in privitie.'

On the whole, perhaps, private patronage is best, and the Priest goes on to explain how that is managed.[3]

Such were the abuses of the Elizabethan Church!

The position of the Puritans can be briefly summed up: they were Calvinists in doctrine, and they wished to follow up their doctrine with the discipline that was its logical outcome. Moreover, they objected to the system of the Established Church as a system; its hierarchy and its patronage seemed to them essentially wrong; they tempted men to enter the ministry for the sake of profit, and encouraged a professional religion.

Further, the Puritans believed that a minister should neither have a large salary nor the prospect of rising to office; in that case there was a chance that only those men would join who loved the work for its own sake.

But they specially detested the hierarchy; they believed it wrong for men who had

[1] Perry, *Reformation in England*.

[2] 'It seems (said he) right well that ye be Clerks
Both by your wittie words and by your werks.
Is not that name enough to make a living
To him that hath a wit of Nature's giving?
How manie honest men see ye arize
Daylie thereby and grow to goodly prize;
To Deanes, to Archdeacons, to Commissaries,
To Lords, to Principalls, to Prebendaries?
All jolly Prelates worthie rule to beare,
Who ever them envie.

. . . . . .

In the meane-time to live in good estate,
Loving that love and hating those that hate;
Being some honest Curate or some Vicker,
Content with little in condition sicker.'
—*Mother Hubberd's Tale.*

[3] 'Some good Gentleman that hath the right
Unto his Church for to present a wight,
Will cope with thee in reasonable wise:
That if the living yerely doo arise
To fortie pound, that then his youngest sonne
Shall twentie have, and twentie thou hast wonne.
Thou hast it wonne for it is of franke gift

taken upon themselves the sacred office to assume luxury and titles which were similar to the luxury and titles of the secular nobility; they believed it wrong for them to assume a function of government which recalled the secular government, that these things were contrary to the Gospel and to the primitive usages of Christianity.

We see plainly this attitude towards the Episcopate if we turn to the famous 'Admonition to Parliament,' which was presented in 1572. It was the work of two London clergymen, John Field and Thomas Wilson, and it suited so admirably with the views of Cartwright that, when the authors were imprisoned, he visited them in prison and supported them by writing a zealous 'Second Admonition.'

The first admonition is generally supposed to mark the point of departure of the Puritan movement. It contends that: 'Formerly the ministry was painful, now gainful; then poor and ignominious, now rich and glorious.'

It raises men to 'livings and offices by Antichrist devised, but in Christ's word forbidden, as Metropolitan, Archbishop, Lord's Grace, Lord's Bishop.'

Scripture would have seniors in every parish; 'the Pope hath brought in the lordship of one man over sundry churches, yea, over many shires.' Primitive usage demands 'equality of ministers instead of an archbishop or lord bishop.' This view, the view of the Admonition to Parliament, is also Spenser's. The insistent dislike shown to the words 'lord' and 'lordship' should be especially noticed. We have seen it in *Mother Hubberd's Tale*, in Spenser's scornful treatment of the dignitaries of the Church, and we find it still more plainly in the *Shepherds' Calender*.

Spenser objects to all endowments. Thus in the May Eclogue he says:

> '*The time was once and may again retorne*
> (For aught may happen that hath bene beforne)
> *When shepheards had none inheritaunce*
> *Ne of land, nor fee in sufferaunce,*
> But what might arise of the bare sheepe,
> (Were it more or less) which they did keepe.'

> And he will care for all the rest to shift,
> Both that the Bishop may admit of thee,
> And that therein thou maist maintained bee.
> This is the way for one that is unlern'd
> Living to get, and not to be discern'd.
> But they, that are great Clerkes, have nearer wayes
> For learning sake to living them to raise;
> Yet many eke of them (God wote) are driven
> T'accept a Benefice in peeces riven.'
> —*Mother Hubberd's Tale.*

This is explicit enough, and the poet further explains, with the tone of asceticism so common in him, how severe is his ideal of the religious life.[1] He proceeds to state his objections to bishops, and the luxury which he thinks they have brought with them.[2]

Palinode urges that all these disputes among the Reformers make them the scorn of their foes: let them put up with what they cannot alter and, for the sake of decency, have peace.

We know, as a matter of fact, that it was the differences of opinion among the Reformed Churches which Catholics all along urged against them, but it is an argument with which Spenser, in the person of Piers, will have nothing to do.[3]

Again, in the July Eclogue, the same complaint reappears: once shepherds were humble and never strove to be chiefs, now they are clad in purple, they reign and rule over every one, and lord it as they think fit.[4]

Under the transparent cover of what was seen on a pilgrimage to Rome he bitterly attacks the wealth of great prelates: shep-

[1] 'Well ywis was it with shepheards thoe:
Nought having, nought feared they to forgoe;
For Pan himselfe was their inheritaunce,
And little them served for their mayntenaunce.
The shepheard's God so wel them guided
That of nought they were unprovided.'
—*Shepheards' Calender*, May Eclogue.

[2] 'But tract of time and long prosperitie,
That nource of vice, this of insolencie,
Lulled the shepheards in such securitie,
That, *not content with loyal obeysaunce,*
Some gan to gape for greedie governaunce,
And match them selfe with mighty potentates,
Lovers of lordship and troublers of states.
Tho gan shepheards swaines to looke aloft,
And leave to live hard, and learne to ligge soft!
Tho, under colour of shepheards, somewhile
There crept in Wolves, ful of fraude and guile,
That often devoured their owne sheepe,
And often the shepheards that did hem keepe.'
—*Shepheards' Calender*, May Eclogue.

[3] 'Shepheard, I list none accordaunce make
With shepheard that does the right way forsake,
And of the twaine, if choice were to me,
Had lever my foe than my freend he be.'
—*Shepheards' Calender*, May Eclogue.

[4] 'Whilome all these were lowe and lief,
And loved their flocks to feede;
They never stroven to be chiefe,
And simple was theyr weede:
But now (thanked be God therefore)
The world is well amend,
Their weedes bene not so nighly wore;
Such simplesse mought them shend:
They bene yclad in purple and pall,
So hath theyr God them blist;
They reign and rulen over all,
And lord it as they list.'
—*Shepheards' Calender*, July Eclogue.

herds behave as lords do elsewhere and neglect their flocks.[1]

Spenser concludes this Eclogue by expressing his sympathy for Grindal, whom Elizabeth sequestered for five years because he had refused to suppress the Prophesyings — meetings of the Puritan ministers, where a passage from Scripture was read and then commented upon by each in turn.

In the September Eclogue there is again girding at the pride of the prelates:

> 'The shepheardes swayne you cannot wel ken,
> But it be by his pryde, from other men.'

And, further on, there are indignant references to the powerful friends these shepherds have at court:

> 'For bigge Bulles of Basan brace hem about,
> That with theyr hornes butten the more stoute,
> But the leane soules treaden under foote,
> And to seeke redresse mought little boote.'

It was pride, according to Spenser, which had ruined the Church of Rome; it was the continuance of the same system which he objected to so strongly in the Church of England, and which was the secret of his Puritanism.

Exactly after the manner of Milton, who mars the poetry of *Lycidas* with his indignation, Spenser mixes up with the *Shepherds' Calender* a whole tract on the vices of professional religion, and on the system which made it possible. He could not speak as plainly as he wished, but the marvel is that he was so daring.

On the question, then, that was after all the main point at issue in Elizabeth's reign—the question of church discipline—Spenser sided as strongly as possible with the Puritans. Nor are their extremer views on the subject of morality entirely foreign to him; he goes so far as to show a drift towards the austere fashions of the Cromwellian days.—(*To be continued.*)

LILIAN WINSTANLEY.

[1] 'Shepheards (sayd he) there doen leade,
As Lordes done other where;
Theyr sheepe han crustes, and they the bread;
The chippes, and they the chere;
They han the fleece and eke the flesh
(O, seely sheepe, the while!)
The corne is theyrs, let others thresh,
Their handes they may not file.
They han great stores and thriftye stockes,
Great freendes and feeble foes:
What neede hem caren for their flocks,
Theyr boyes can looke to those.'
—*Shepheards' Calender*, July Eclogue.

MILTON ON THE CONTINENT.

A TOWER of the twelfth century, solitary remnant of a castle[1] ruined in the wars of Burgundy, still stands on a round wooded hill, overlooking the village of Bex. The hill prolongs itself in graceful declivities, forming one wide amphitheatre westward, till the abrupt fall of the land on St. Maurice, there

> 'Where the swift Rhone cleaves his way between
> Heights which appear as lovers who have parted.'[2]

The 'heights' are the Dent du Midi, who bears on her bosom so many zones, in whose skirts the old Abbey nestles, and the Dent de Morcle, her rival, on the right bank of the river.

These, we suggest, were the 'mountains' alluded to by Milton in *L'Allegro*, 'a feature for which,' writes Professor Masson, 'the scenery of Horton furnishes no original':

> 'Mountains on whose barren breast
> The labouring clouds do often rest.'

And the Tour de Duin, whose battlements are still visible, half hidden among chestnut trees and ivy, is one of those

> 'Towers and battlements'

which the poet's eye sees

> 'Bosom'd high in tufted trees.'

We venture to suggest that *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso* were not written during Milton's youth at Horton, that, on the contrary, they are rife with rich souvenirs of continental travel. Dr. Masson, we hope, will allow us to lay aside his 'probable inference' that they were written during the Horton period, as there are no proofs of the assertion. We have studied the whole matter long and carefully, on the Continent and in the light of French history, and possess such an arch of evidence as to bridge over the two and a half centuries which separate us from the publication of these poems (1645), with somewhat more than 'probable inference.' The beauty of the Twin Poems is increased in an extraordinary degree, when we see in them the realism of Milton. In spite of the metaphysical lore, which is the soil where his

[1] See *Dictionnaire historique du Canton de Vaud*, par Martigniez et de Crousaz, p. 87, etc.
[2] *Childe Harold*, Canto III. xciv.

poems grow, they are ever true to nature, in a word, *vécus*.

Milton travelled to Paris and Italy, in 1638-39, for a tour of fifteen months. It was three years after the foundation of the French Academy. That Milton visited the most remarkable buildings and the best society is no matter of doubt to those who have read his biography by Dr. Masson.

The Hôtel de Rambouillet was in all its early splendour. There Catherine de Vivonne held her court of taste. A host of 'terrible beauties' awarded the prize of their approval both to the writers and orators of that classic age,[1] and to the warriors[2] who, from time to time, returned during the course of the Thirty Years' War to receive the crown of victory, as in the lists of old. Very concise is Milton's miniature picture of the gaiety of Paris, and very clear the outline of his new Rowena in the fine enamel of his verse:—

> 'Tower'd cities please us then,
> And the busy hum of men,
> Where throngs of knights and barons bold,
> In weeds of peace, high triumphs hold,
> With store of ladies, whose bright eyes
> Rain influence and judge the prize
> Of wit or arms; while both contend
> To win *her*[3] grace whom all commend.'

From Paris Milton passed to Italy, where he found the artistic remains of Michael Angelo (*Il Penseroso* was one) and the aged Galileo. Traces of this are very visible in the poem *Il Penseroso*, when once one gets the idea of analysing it according to the realistic light of geography and history—a light far more ideal than that of vague imagination, working its embroidery on no canvas at all. We learn from *Paradise Lost* itself that the poet really met with the astronomer (I. 287, v. 262). He found him in his lonely tower of Arectri, just outside Florence, on the Tuscan Hills. The allusions to him in *Il Penseroso* are two. As Hermes of old had wrenched the secret from the Sphinx, to his bane, Galileo had forced the secrets from Nature and suffered the condemnation of the Inquisition. The lease still exists[4] that he signed on entering this solitary retreat, where the *Torre del Gallo*, in the neighbouring house, was assigned him as an observatory, with many restrictions as to the use he might make of his liberty.

What more melancholy picture could suggest itself to Milton, as he looked over the notes of recent memory, than that of the old scientist, bereaved for four years of the assistance of his faithful daughter (Maria Celeste), and lately deprived even of sight? And what name fitted him better than Hermes?—

> 'Or let my lamp, at midnight hour,
> Be seen in some high lonely tower
> Where I may oft outwatch the Bear[5]
> With thrice great Hermes,' etc.

Again, at the end of the poem, Galileo's fate inspires a melancholy strain; teacher of botany and of astronomy, his 'tower' now becomes a 'hermitage':—

> 'And may at last my weary age
> Find out the peaceful hermitage,
> The hairy gown and mossy cell,
> Where I may sit and rightly spell
> Of every star that heaven doth show,
> And every herb that sips the dew,
> Till old experience do attain
> To something like prophetic strain.'

The guardian angel of Galileo, the daughter who had tended him so long, filled his mind. She had been his all in all, as her biographers attest. Now that we expect to find Milton's real experiences in these poems, we shall not be astonished to find Maria Celeste, whom he never saw, idealised as the 'pensive nun':—

> 'Come, pensive nun, devout and pure,
> Sober, stedfast and demure,
> All in a robe of darkest grain,
> Flowing with majestic train,

[1] Racine, Molière, Racan, Corneille, Bossuet, Benserade, Voiture, Pascal, etc.

[2] Dandelot, the Grand Condé, d'Enghien, Turenne, Coligny, Châtillon, Brézé, Cardinal de la Valette, Duc de Nemours, Duc de Longueville, etc. These are among the names well known in the history of the period and quoted often by Victor Cousin.

[3] See the *Vie de Madame de Longueville*, by Victor Cousin. The extraordinary beauty of Mademoiselle de Bourbon, who was nearly twenty in 1638, the power of her eyes and her influence in literature, lead us to believe that, among this host of beautiful and gifted women, she was the one who had struck Milton by her personal appearance and literary position. She it is, probably, 'whom all commend'; for after looking carefully at the dates and descriptions of all the feminine contemporaries of Milton in Paris, she unites, as none other, beauty, critical taste, personal prestige, powerful eyes, and the flower of youth. She married the Duc de Longueville some time after Milton's passage.

[4] See an article by Herr von Reumont in the *Archivio Storico Italiano*, tome xxvi., year 1877, p. 427-443.

[5] See Poems of Giacomo Zanella, *Miltone Galileo*. Zanella appears, however, to have studied their interview in *Paradise Lost*, and not to have discovered Galileo and Maria Celeste in *Il Penseroso*, although he describes them just as though he had seen the allusion. We have, by Milton and Zanella, two descriptions much alike of the same traditions of the sad couple, and we must forgive Zanella for prolonging the life of an angel beyond the limits of fact.

And sable Stole of Cypress lawn
Over thy decent shoulders drawn.
Come, but keep thy wonted state,
With even step and musing gait,
And looks commercing with the skies,
Thy rapt soul sitting in thine eyes:
There, held in holy passion still,
Forget thyself to marble, till
With a sad leaden downward cast
Thou fix them on the earth as fast.'

Another proof that Milton had been in Italy, before he wrote the Twin Poems, lies in the enthusiasm of his descriptions both of organ and of vocal music. The organ of St. Paul's was first brought to celebrity by Purcell, who died in 1695, at thirty-seven years of age—that is, fifty years after the publication of the Twin Poems. Dean Stanley calls him the Chaucer of the Musicians.[1] We may well conclude, then, that, as Purcell was not born in 1639-45, Milton's delight in organ music was caused by hearing his Italian friend, Frescobaldi,[2] play on the organ of St. Peter's in Rome.

'There let the pealing organ blow[3]
To the full-voiced choir below,
In service high and anthems clear,
As may with sweetness, through mine ear,
Dissolve me into ecstasies
And bring all heaven before mine eyes.'

The same negative and positive proof exists about vocal music. In England it was just beginning; for was not 'Harry' (Mr. H. Lawes) the first to teach

'Our English music how to span
Words with just note and accent'?

Was it not he who should be celebrated, in the coming ages, as the man

'That with smooth air could humour best our tongue'?

(Sonnet VIII.)

And did not Milton find in Italy Leonora Baroni, whose music, between 1637 and 1641, 'moved Italy to madness'?[4] Let doubting spirits read his Latin poem to Leonora! It ends with: 'If, however, God is in all things and in all diffused, in thee alone He speaks; all else He inhabits mute!'[5]

Could there be more genuine, more heart-felt eulogy? It bursts forth as brightly in *L'Allegro*:—

'And ever against eating cares
Lap me in soft Lydian airs,
Married to immortal verse,
Such as the meeting soul may pierce,
In notes with many a winding bout
Of linked sweetness long drawn out,
With wanton heed and giddy cunning,
The melting voice through mazes running,
Untwisting all the chains that tie
The hidden soul of harmony;
That Orpheus' self may heave his head
From golden slumber on a bed
Of heap'd Elysian flowers, and hear
Such strains as would have won the ear
Of Pluto, to have quite set free
His half-regained Eurydice!'

The 'solemn troops' and 'sweet societies' in *Lycidas* are of a tamer mood. No wonder; he wrote *Lycidas* before going to the 'fresh woods and pastures new' of Italy.

Milton tells us that he returned from Milan by the Pennine Alps to the Leman. To have gone round by the St. Bernard would have been much out of his way, and he wished to get home quickly. He must therefore have come by the Simplon Pass, where the contrasts of scenery are so great that they may have suggested these gay and melancholy strains, incipient poems, baptized in Italian, as their creator left the skies of Italy. In the *Epitaphium Damonis*, he cries, lamenting the death of his friend Diodati in England:

'Ah! what roaming whimsey drew my steps to a distance
Over the rocks *hung in air*[6] and the Alpine passes and glaciers?'

The passage of the Simplon is easily accomplished now on the road made by Napoleon, but it is unique in the world for its wild grandeur. In Milton's time the old Roman road was in use; at one part, near Gondo and Iselle, the rocks rise one above another dark and gloomy, as the valley narrows over the traveller's head. Here are *night-ravens*, *horrid caves*, *uncouth cells*, and *brooding Darkness*. The rocks are of schist, dark grey and so brittle that horizontal lines are formed by the parts that fall off, and these give the appearance of eyebrows, generally frowning in the shade. A very little imagination peoples the road with living creatures of foreboding aspect. Here, we suspect, is the cradle of *Il Penseroso*. Here a colossal head, standing out against the rocks, vomits forth the

[1] *Westminster Abbey*, Ch. iv. p. 289.

[2] Frescobaldi, one of his most intimate friends, was organist of St. Peter's from 1614 to 1654.

[3] Allusion perhaps to St. Peter's or the *Sainte Chapelle* in Paris, the only monument extant where the clear-story reaches quite up to the top. See *Oxford Glossary*, p. 239, Part I., as well as to the chapel of King's College, Cambridge.

[4] *Life of Milton*, Masson.

[5] Quod si cuncta quidem Deus est, per cunctaque fusus,
In te unâ loquitur, caetera mutus habet.

[6] There, under ebon shades, and *low-browed rocks* [at Gondo],
As ragged as thy locks,
In dark Cimmerian desert ever dwell.

torrent called the *Fressinone*, which rushes madly down to the depths, far below the road, to join the struggling *Doveria*. Here

'Loathed Melancholy,
Of Cerberus and blackest midnight born,'

first, we think, saw twilight.

But the traveller pursues his route and, after attaining the Simplon Hospice, descends into the Rhone valley and emerges on a scene in most perfect contrast with the terrors of Gondo.

The scenery is varied and charming always, but, before the Rhone joins the lake, there is one point where all beauties meet. Bex is, as it were, the synthesis of all. Nowhere else along the course of the river is the Dent du Midi so fine and in no one place are the chains of mountains so harmoniously distributed. Bex is the most smiling of Swiss villages; one quite worthy for Zephyr and Aurora to have there originated in the poet's mind the Nymph *Allegro*. The Dent du Midi is on one side, the Dent de Morcle on the other, with their wide watersheds,

'Shallow brooks and rivers wide.'

The Tour de Duin is there positively 'nestling' in the chestnuts.

English scenes had opened the poem, larks and dog-roses, hunters' horns and sunset hues; but, as Milton wrote the last lines of *Lycidas*, he had before him the hope of seeing

'Fresh woods and pastures new.'

In *L'Allegro* he has found them. Those eyes which at the end of his life were to fail him had done him good service. Few men observe so well. The following lines stand in contrast, on the one hand with the terrors of the Alpine pass and on the other, with the mirth of the English homestead:—

'Straight mine eye hath caught new pleasures,
As the landscape round it measures,
Russet lawns and fallows grey,[1]
Where the nibbling flocks do stray;
Mountains on whose barren breast
The labouring clouds do often rest;
Meadows trim with daisies pied,
Shallow brooks and rivers wide,
Towers and battlements it sees
Bosom'd high in tufted trees,
Where perhaps some beauty lies,
The cynosure of neighbouring eyes.'

And this is the landscape of Bex, where the Simplon route emerges, which leads to the tunnel in construction of the Jura-Simplon Railway.

The Twin Poems, wrongly attributed to the early youth of Milton, although not published till 1645, serve thus as opera-glasses, through which his continental experiences in Paris, in Italy and on the Simplon Pass are brought into strong relief.

FANNY BYSE, *née* LEE.

[1] In Switzerland the mountains, where vegetation becomes scarce, are used as pasturage. Goats still feed in places up the Dent du Midi.

THE DIARY OF A SCHOOLGIRL OF EIGHTY YEARS AGO.

IN looking through the diaries kept by my grandmother, Miss Elizabeth Firth (born 2nd January 1797), the only child of John Scholefield Firth, of Kipping House, Thornton, near Bradford, I thought that a modern public might find interest in those entries which related to the time when Miss Firth was a pupil at Crofton Hall, Wakefield, under Miss Richmal Mangnall, the renowned author of *Mangnall's Questions*. Miss Mangnall's school was one of the most famous of the day, and the glimpses which we get of the system pursued there, even from these brief entries of a young girl's diary, suggest an amusing contrast with more modern methods of education and discipline.

The pupils at Crofton Hall were not—as in these democratic days—'the girls,' but 'the ladies'; moreover, they were divided into 'the great ladies' and 'the little ladies.' The school year is divided into two 'halves,' with holidays at Christmas and Midsummer. When our girls have a '*viva voce* examination,' Miss Mangnall's ladies had a 'brain-day.' Miss Mangnall is 'my governess.' The season of winter is marked by the ladies wearing 'sacks' and 'pelisses.' They are periodically subject to a mysterious process called 'being looked over,' whether in their persons or their apparel is not clear. Their clothes go to the wash once a quarter. They are not faultless, Miss Mangnall's ladies—they write on the desks, make slops at breakfast, tell fibs, raise reports, are found guilty of obstinacy and 'ippertinence.' They 'poke' their heads forward, a serious matter in an institution which teaches

'department.' They are even known to fight. But my governess is ready for all occasions: and no sooner is the offence committed, than the offender is whipped, sent to Coventry (officially, it would seem), has the 'cap' on, is forbidden to wash, 'has verses,' 'a collect,' or even 'the Epistle and Gosple,' or receives a 'task.' If any one has too many 'tasks,' she is punished again. If she leaves her clothes under her bed, then the punishment is made to fit the crime, on true Rousseau principles, and they are pinned to her back, as happened to Miss Bitton. But life at Crofton Hall is not all 'brain-days' and punishments. The ladies have their boxes of provisions and their 'goodies,' they play (or at least the 'little ladies' play) at mysterious games, such as 'setting tables' and 'picking up sticks'; they dance 'hands forty' in honour of victories in Spain; they even give a concert. 'My governess' not only shows them on high occasions her beautiful Bible, but treats them now and then to apples, gooseberries, or strawberries. On fast-days 'tarts' are the order of the day. Once we have a record of 'preserves to supper,' alas, with the ominous addition, 'I was very sick.' But sickness has also its compensations, as we see by the terse entry: 'The coughs had treacle-posset.'

THE DIARY FOR 1812.

(The first entry was written at Thornton.)

1812.

Feb. 11. We finished reading *The Lay of the Last Minstrel.*

Mar. 30. We met Mr. and Miss Horsfall at Wakefield who went forwards with my mama and I to Crofton.

Apr. 4. The ladies sung hymns in the evening.

,, 8. Some of the ladies had 30 verses for having things in the black hall cupboard.

,, 9. I began of my rugs.

,, 12. Several of the ladies were sent to bed for losing at spelling.

,, 19. All the drawers trunks and pockets were searched for some cake that was taken out of Miss Hither's drawer.

,, 21. We had all geography on the globe.

,, 27. We had dictionary excused. Miss Outhwaite[1] made an unfortunate speech.

,, 30. Several of the Ladies were sent to bed for losing at spelling. I was one of them.

May 2. We did not all say catechism till after tea.

,, 3. Those who did not lose at spelling or dictionary walked in the ringfield. I was one who did not lose.

,, 4. Miss Onthwaite was sent to bed at 7 for having her feet within the fender.

May 6. The organ came. All the ladies who spoke after ten had a task.

,, 7. We had not candles till half past nine.

,, 8. We began of going to bed without candles.

,, 9. The servants called my Governess out of bed and said Alice was in a fit. She was in the nightmare and we could hear her schreaming into our room.

,, 12. My Governess told our class of Geography that if we did not know the rivers off we might go away. They all went but myself, though some of them knew them.

,, 14. We had dictionary excused and played on the grass.

,, 15. My governess looked over a many of her Ladies. I was one.

,, 16. We gave up having fires and wearing Pelisses.

,, 18. Miss Bitton had her dirty clothes pinned to her back for having them under her bed.

,, 19. Miss Wilson had the cap on for losing a French book.

,, 20. We had a holiday in the afternoon, but were not allowed to set tables.[2] All the songs that were to be sung at the concert were snug.

,, 25. I began of reading *Telemachus.*

,, 27. We had a holiday in the afternoon. We might not set tables.

,, 31. Mary Wilson had the cap on for cutting holes in her stockings.

June 4. We had a concert and a great deal of company, between 30 and 40 Ladies and Gentlemen. The schoolroom was lighted up with 66 candles. I played in a trio and a Glee.

,, 5. We laid in the morning.

,, 10. All our clothes came from the wash.

,, 11. We were packed up.

(Holidays.)

July 26. To Crofton.

,, 27. We eat strawberries in the garden.

,, 29. The Manchester Ladies came.

,, 30. Miss Fayrer inquired who had brought veal pies.

Aug. 1. Miss Coppock had a fit. We got strawberries in the garden.

,, 2. A. had a task for a slop at breakfast.

,, 4. Miss Marshall and Miss Dixon fought.

,, 5. We went into the garden to eat currants.

,, 6. I was put into the first class of Music.

,, 7. I was put into the second class of Geography.

,, 9. We finished our goodies. Miss Candler was sent to bed at 6 for being impertinent to Mr. Willis.

,, 14. We were threatened to be sent to bed at 5 o'clock if there were not less noise in the writing-room.

,, 16. Frank caught two owls.

,, 21. Our class of Geography were 2 hours looking for the Emperor of Persia's name. My Governess told us it was Mohomet.

,, 22. As many great Ladies as could sit in my Governess' pew went to church. I was one.

,, 23. Mr. Bushby came to the schoolroom door, but durst not come in.

[1] Miss Fanny Onthwaite, who was almost a sister to Miss Firth, stood with her as godmother . Anne Broutë, and left the latter £100 by will.

[2] Is this a game?

Aug. 24. My Governess took Mary Horsfall, Lydia Wilkinson, and I to Wakefield. We drank tea at Mr. Smith's, and came back in a chaise.
,, 28. My Governess showed us a beautiful Bible of hers with Ripon Minster on the edge.
,, 30. Miss T. Marshall was sent to bed at eight for impertinence to Mr. Willis. The great ladies had gooseberries.
Sept. 1. I got 10 verses for a slop at breakfast. We were all sent to bed without tea for making a noise in the writing-room.
,, 2. Miss Alderson of Sheffield came.
,, 4. The little ladies had apples.
,, 5. The ladies that were to be confirmed were examined by Mr. Feron in the vestry.
,, 6. We danced hands forty in honour of a great victory in Spain.[1]
,, 9. The Echoes drank tea with my governess and went with her to Nostall; it was the anniversary of their institution.
,, 11. Eliza Humphreys went to Woodhouse; her sister Amelia came into the school-room and fell down on my Governess' neck and cryed.
,, 12. Miss Ropers were sent to Coventry till they could say their catechism. Some of the ladies had the Epistle and Gosple, 28 verses for writing on the desks.
,, 19. Mrs. Smithson sent for L. Wilkinson to meet her sisters, but my Governess would not allow her to go because it was Sunday.
,, 21. Mary Wilson was whiped for raising a report about Miss Fayrer.
,, 22. Miss Steer was whiped for obstinacy.
,, 23. I got a task for asking for the key in school hours to get my gramar.
,, 24. We had a whole holiday and had all apples.
,, 27. We had a collect for noise, a general task.
Oct. 1. 20 of the ladies went to Wakefield to be confirmed.
,, 5. We drew for the questions prices; Judith Benson got the 1st and I got the 2nd.
,, 9. Miss Teales were sent for home, but my Governess would not let them go without a chair, it was so wet, they did not go.
,, 11. We finished my goody box.
,, 12. All those Ladies who had not writen more than one letter were to write.
,, 13. My Governess began of reading in an evening.
,, 15. I began of wearing sacks.
,, 16. We had Latitude and Longitude in all the classes.
,, 17. We began of wearing Pelisses.
,, 19. We had our fire in the schoolroom.
,, 20. I began of drawing my roses.[2]
,, 24. My Governess wrote one word applicable to each round the table and left us to guess who they were intended for.
,, 25. It was Crofton fair. We had a whole holiday and preserves to supper.

[1] Was it the taking of Madrid?
[2] I possess a painting of flowers executed by Miss Firth at Crofton Hall.

Oct. 29 We had a general task for noise in the dressing-room.
,, 30. There was a petticoat about, and we were not allowed to wash till after supper, and threatened with 20 verses if it was not owned. It was not owned.
,, 31. The same party was at the table that was there last Sunday, and my Governess wrote each a bad quality.
Nov. 1. Miss Fayrer gave 270 words of dictionary for poking.[3] I had 10.
,, 3. 24 Ladies were sent to bed at 5 for having too many tasks.
,, 9. We were allowed to stand at the fire the first time.
,, 10. I read psalms. Miss Armitage and Miss Oxley had the dunce's caps on.
,, 11. I got 20 verses for throwing a backboard down.
,, 14. I was looked over. The ladies sat round the fire.
,, 15. We had very few dictionary words given, and expected dictionary excused, but had not.
,, 19. We had dictionary excused.
,, 20. We had a holiday in the morning to mend our clothes.
,, 26. Mary Wilson had the cap on for impertiuence to Miss Harrison and a paper to say what it was for.
Dec. 2. We expected a holiday, but were disappointed.
,, 4. Miss M'Cumming was whipped and sent to Coventry for telling a fib.
,, 5. We laid in the morning and had preserves to supper. I was very sick.
,, 9. We had a holiday in the afternoon and had all cake. Our class of Geography supped with my Governess.
,, 11. We were packed up.
(Holidays.)

1813.
Jan. 27. I came to Crofton.
Feb. 1. There was a rat in the black hall when we were at supper.
,, 3. All those ladies who had eaten anything in the schoolroom had a task. All but one had it.
,, 6. I was writing in this book, and Mr. Johnson saw me.
,, 10. I laid in the morning for a hoarseness.
,, 13. We laid in bed till the chimnies were sweeped.
,, 18. We had a fuss about a slop of ink in the writing-room and had all our hands examined.
,, 19. I got the names of the English kings.
,, 26. Miss Julia was sent to Coventry, had the cap on, and was whipped for telling a story about her father.
Mar. 3. It was Ash Wednesday. We had tarts to dinner. My Governess read *Rokeby* in the evening.
,, 6. I began to learn ancient Geography.
,, 7. I read thoughts on Education.
,, 8. I began of reading ancient History.
,, 10. The general fast day we went to church and had tarts to dinner.
,, 16. The little ladies picked up sticks[4] and walked in procession.

[3] *i.e.* for not walking erect.
[4] A game?

Mar. 27. I had a box.
,, 28. We had my tarts to supper at Miss Fayrer's table.
Apr. 14. Mary Gale stole some cake.
,, 16. It was Good Friday. We went to church and had tarts to dinner.
,, 18. We gave up wearing Pelisses.
,, 20. I painted my labels.
,, 21. Jane Lapage read the *Vicar of Wakefield* to us.
,, 22. I began of mending my clothes.
,, 23. I gave up wearing sacks.
,, 30. E. Humphreys had a fuss about Mr. White.
May 4. Miss Haigh's drawers fell upon her, but she was not much hurt.
,, 5. Miss Eliza talked ½ hour to a man in the village.
,, 11. A man came to rob the pigeon-house, but my Governess called out to him.
,, 19. We had a brain-day in Geography. I had 7 mistakes, which was the least of any one.
,, 20. Our boxes were packed up for varnishing.
May 22. My Governess gave me an Inkstand and Miss Lockwood a silver knife for answering well at Geography.
,, 24. The coughs had treacle-posset.
,, 25. I began of taking medicine.
,, 30. Miss Eliza fainted in church.
June 1. We had a long argument on conscience.
,, 2. Some Ladies and Gentlemen came to see Miss M'Cumming when she was in bed.
,, 12. I left school.

Miss Firth now returned to Thornton, and was living there when the Rev. Patrick Brontë was appointed to Thornton early in 1815. She became the close friend of Mr. Brontë and his wife, and the godmother of their children Elizabeth (probably named after her) and Anne. Miss Firth was married on 21st September 1824 to the Rev. James Clarke Franks, vicar of Huddersfield, and died at Bradford on 11th September 1837.

G. C. Moore Smith.

LA CRÉATION DU MONDE

This 'conférence' was published at Geneva in 1865 by Joseph Hornung, a painter of considerable merit, and the author of several other sketches written in the Savoyard dialect, or that form of it currently spoken about Sixt and Samoëns and the neighbourhood of Geneva. The dialogue, as may be seen, is carried on between a priest and one of his parishioners; it is a not uncommon custom in parts of Roman Catholic Switzerland for the priest to meet his flock in the church, and submit to be 'heckled' with religious questions and difficulties, which he then expounds and explains as best he may. Joseph Hornung published an enlarged edition of the 'conférence' in question some years later, in the preface of which he says: 'Cette conférence a été recueillie par Grandvoinet, le marguillier, et se présente nouvellement revue et divisée en deux parties, dans la première desquelles on démontre la haute antiquité du peuple savoyard, et l'excellence de son langage, qui est le principe de toute paléontologie linguistique.' Without going as far as this, it is none the less true, that the study of Savoyard has many points of interest for Romance scholars, and the specimen here given is very representative of this dialect. Both editions of the *Création* have long been out of print. The curious will find a copy of the second edition in the Public Library at Geneva; but this second is greatly inferior to the first. In it the rustic simplicity and benighted ignorance which gives point to the satire has been largely dispelled by the introduction of questions which would never have occurred to any Savoyard peasant of the type here depicted.

The following extracts will give an idea of the dialect and style of the 'conférence,' which contains an account of the deluge, purgatory, etc., as well as the creation, characterised by the same raciness of language and extravagance of broad humour. The orthography of the original has been preserved, though not wholly satisfactory, misprints only being corrected.

The dialogue is between Pessard, *curé* of Boëge, and Perravet, a peasant.

The numbers refer to the Notes.

TEXT.

Pessard. Braves zans! Y ne vo faut pas lire la Bible; se vo métaz le naz dedian, vo zêtes damnâ,—et vo z'allâ to drait en enfer. —Ze vai vo deire, mé, tant qu'y en est, et qu'man le bon Dieu a créâ le monde.

TRANSLATION.

Pessard. Mes braves gens! Il ne vous faut pas lire la Bible: si vous mettez le nez dedans, vous êtes damnés et vous allez tout droit en enfer. Je vais vous dire, moi, tout ce qu'il y a dans la Bible, et comment le bon Dieu a créé le monde.

Ne vo derey point, m's'enfans, iò était le bon Dieu et ce qui fassive[1] avant la création. Ze n'en say ren du to; mais on zeur qu'y l'étive to cholet et qu'y s'ennuyave à ne ren fare, y preit 'na lanterna et se meit a all'ma to celeu petits crésus que vo véyï dian le cié; et après y pendeit sa lanterna, et y fu la l'na.—Et y trova se bravo to ce qui vegnive[2] de fare, qu'y fit on grant fua de zoïa—on grant fua de la Saint-Dian—et y fu le séleu.

Et après, y créa les bêques: les vasses, lou meutons, les lièvres, lou cayons et les polailles,—et y leu bailla[3] à to à mezi.

Et y créa asse ben les peuzes, les pounézes et lou pius—mais y l'oblia de leu bailli à mezi. Et celé poures bêques criâvont la fam qu'man des z'aigles, et le bon Dieu leu deit:—'Ze vo z'ai ubliâ, poures bêques, z'en sai ben fashïa; mais ze vai vo fare quaqueran de bon, que vo fera pliaisi—'na vrai golliardi.'[4]—Et y preit on bocon de dio, et y l'en feit on homme . . . Et y preit de la mosse pé se fini de panâ[5] et en méta on pou u sonzon de la têta de l'homme, et en laissa tombâ on pou par cy, on pou par là, et y deit après:—'Celé poures bêques n'ont pas preu à mezi: y faut fare on âtre côr.' Et y feit 'na fémal' to qu'man y l'avait fait l'homme. Y meit ben de la mossa su le sonzon de la tête de la fémal', mais y n'en avait pas preu.[6] . . .

Pouai, avoué on fétu, y leu soffla u bé à to 2, et y leu bailla la via . . .

Et le bon Dieu lon preit pé la man et lou meîna dedian on brave corti et y leu deit:—'M'z'enfans, vêqua dou prets,[8] vêqua des prommes, vêqua dou greffions,[9] vêqua dou tius, des raves et des patenailles: vo povi mezi de to et vo z'en regalâ; mais, m'z'enfans, ze vo défende de toci à ce t'arbre de pommes renettes. Se vo z'en mezi, vo farrî trop de farces dedian le monde! Ze le garde par mé: y est pé mon desser.' La fenna deit:—'Le bon Dy no z'a faits qu'man lui; ze vouai mezi qu'man lui!'—Et al' vint à l'arbre, et la scharpan que guétave la fenna, et frétillave de la quaoua en la veyan vegni, lui deit:—'Vegni sholaman, y est bon, y vo fara pliaisi!' Et la fémale en preit et en meza . . . Alôr, y se métiront à se corriatâ dedian le corti, se vautran dedian lou pras et caffolliant lou blias,[10] se ben que le garde-sampêtre lou foti diôr à grans cops de pi u eu et de pla de sâbre. Et quant y furons diôr, Adam se lamentave et deseit:—'No sen ben malireux, no vêqua pé torzo forci à mezi du rûti!'

Je ne vous dirai point, mes enfants, où était le bon Dieu, et ce qu'il faisait avant la création. Je n'en sais rien du tout: mais on est sûr qu'il était tout seul et qu'il s'ennuyait à rien faire: il prit une lanterne et se mit à allumer tous ces petits creusets que vous voyez dans le ciel: et après il pendit la lanterne et ce fut la lune. Et il trouva tout ce qu'il venait de faire si joli, qu'il fit un grand feu de joie—un grand feu de St. Jean—et ce fut le soleil.

Et après, il créa les bêtes—les vaches, les moutons, les lièvres, les cochons et les volailles—et il leur donna tous à manger.

Et il créa aussi bien les puces, les punaises et les poux, mais il oublia de leur y donner à manger. Et ces pauvres bêtes criaient la faim comme des aigles, et le bon Dieu leur dit—'Je vous ai oubliés, pauvres bêtes, j'en suis bien fâché—mais je vais vous faire quelquechose de bon, qui vous fera plaisir—une vraie friandise.' Et il prit un morceau de terre glaise, et il fit un homme . . . Et il prit de la mousse pour finir s'essuyer (les mains) et en mit un peu au sommet de la tête de l'homme, et en laissa tomber un pou par ça, un pou par là, et il dit après—'Ces pauvres bêtes n'ont pas assez à manger: il faut faire un autre corps.' Et il fit une femelle tout comme il avait fait l'homme. Il mit bien de la mousse au sommet de la tête de la femelle, mais il n'y en avait pas assez . . .

Puis, avec un fétu, il leur souffla un peu à tous les deux, et il leur donna la vie . . .

Et le bon Dieu les prit par la main, et les mena dans un brave courtil, et il leur dit, —'Mes enfants, voilà des poires, voilà des pommes, voilà des cerises, voilà des choux, des navets, et des carottes—vous pouvez manger de tout et vous en régaler—mais, mes enfants, je vous défends de toucher à cet arbre de pommes renettes. Si vous en mangez, vous ferez trop de farces dans le monde. Je le garde pour moi, c'est pour mon dessert.' La femme dit, 'Le bon Dieu nous a faits comme lui; je veux manger comme lui.' Et elle vint à l'arbre, et le serpent qui guettait la femme, et frétillait de la queue en la voyant venir, lui dit, 'venez seulement, il est bon, il vous fera plaisir.' Et la femme en prit et en mangea . . . Alors, ils se mettaient à courir dans le courtil, se vautrant dans les prés et cueillant les blés, si bien que le garde-champêtre les jeta dehors à grands coups de pied en derrière, et de plat de sabre. Et quand ils furent dehors, Adam se plaignait et disait, 'Nous sommes bien malheureux, nous voilà pour toujours forcés à manger du rôti.'

Alôr le bon Dieu vint, qui leu deit:—'M'z'enfans, vo z'avi fait 'na granta fauta! Té, fenua, te mettra lou z'enfans u monde avoué des doleurs que te feront eriâ: *U z'arm's la garda!* et té, mon fiu, pé gagni ton pan, te moliera 3 semizes et 2 bounets de coton pé zeur. M'z'enfans, vo povi, orendrait,[11] to mettre shan dessu dejo dedian le mende, y ne fâ ran: mon pliaisi à mé, sera de to remettre en ôdre.'

Et vêqua, braves zans, qu'man la prémire fauta de la fenna no z'a meis diôr du paradis;—et qui vo sharve de lesson, femal's! Rendâ a vo z'hommes su la terra le paradis que vo leu z'avi pédre dedian le cié!

. . . . . .

Perravet. Su voutron respet, mons l'Encourâ, vo ne no z'avi ren deit dou vers que no z'avons dedian le côr?

Pessard. Le bon Dieu n'avait pas viu on ver qu'éta dedian le dio avoué quoi y l'avait fait l'homme—et y fu le prémi ver de eu,[12] m'n'ami.

Perravet. Et le diable, mons l'Encoura?

Pessard. Le diable, m'z'enfans, y est on anze que ne va ni à messa, ni à confessa.

Perravet. Mais, mons Gosse,[13] que ne va ni à messa, ni à confessa, et qui m'a gari de mes rumatismales, y est donc on diable? To de même y est on bon diable, que ne m'a ren demandâ pé ne soigni et ze ne lui ai ren bailla!

Et lou farfadets,[14] quant est qu'y l'on étâ eréâ?

Pessard. Eh! m'n'ami, le bon Dieu contemplâve la fenna et deseit:—'Mon Dieu que l'est brava!' et dinse y pardeit son temps à la guêtâ, se ben que la fin du zeur était vegnue, et il n'eut pas mé de temps pé fare on âtre côr qui volli fare. La né vint, y ne trova plié de dio so sa man, et y ne fit qu'on esprit, qu'est lou farfadets.

Perravet. Y est bon! on esprit! Ta qui est on esprit que no pîgne la quaoua des vasses, que greubont lou z'eul's, rensivont lou z'écoual's et que dansont su le borillon de nos fémal's quant al' dormont?

Pessard. Caize-té, poure fiu. Te montre ben que te n'est pas on esprit, té!

. . . . . .

It is hardly surprising to find that the dialogue ends thus:—

Pessard. Té damnâ à zamais, Perravet! mons Oltramare[15] ne vodreit pas même de té pé fare on hérétique!

Perravet. Mons l'Encourâ, vo n'êtes pas mé que mé; no sen tô enfans du bon Dieu, vo n'avi pas mé le drait de me damnâ, que

Alors, le bon Dieu vint, qui leur dit, 'Mes enfants, vous avez fait une grande faute. Toi, femme, tu mettras les enfants au monde avec des douleurs qui te feront crier, 'Aux armes, la garde,' et toi, mon fils, pour gagner ton pain, tu mouilleras trois chemises et deux bonnets de coton par jour—mes enfants, vous pouvez, maintenant, tout mettre sens dessus dessous dans le monde: mon plaisir à moi, sera de tout remettre en ordre.'

Et voilà, mes braves gens, comment la première faute de la femme nous a mis dehors du paradis—et qu'il vous serve d'une leçon, femmes. Rendez à vos hommes sur la terre le paradis que vous leur avez fait perdre dans le ciel.

. . . . . .

Perravet. Sous votre respect, monsieur le curé, vous nous n'avez rien dit du ver que nous avons dans le corps.

Pessard. Le bon Dieu n'avait pas vu un ver qui était dans la terre avec laquelle il avait fait l'homme, et ce fut le premier ver de cul, mon ami.

Perravet. Et le diable, monsieur le curé.

Pessard. Le diable, mes enfants, il est un ange qui ne va ni à la messe ni à la confesse.

Perravet. Mais, Monsieur Gosse, qui ne va ni à la messe ni à la confesse et qui m'a guéri de mes rhumatismes, il est donc un diable? Tout de même, il est un bon diable, paree qu'il ne m'a rien demandé pour me soigner, et je ne lui ai rien donné.

Et les farfadets, quand est-ce qu'ils ont été créés?

Pessard. Eh, mon ami, le bon Dieu contemplait la femme et disait, 'mon Dieu, qu'elle est brave!' Et donc il perdit son temps à la guetter si bien que la fin du jour était venue, et il n'eut pas même le temps pour faire un autre corps qu'il voulait faire. La nuit vint, il ne trouva plus de terre sous sa main, et il ne fit qu'un esprit, qui est le farfadet.

Perravet. C'est bon! un esprit! Tiens, que c'est un esprit qui nous peigne la queue des vaches, qui salit les vaisselles, renverse les écuelles, et qui danse sur le ventre de nos femmes quand elles dorment.

Pessard. Tais-toi, pauvre fils. Tu montres bien que tu n'es pas un esprit, toi.

. . . . . .

Pessard. Tu es damné à jamais, Perravet! Mons. Oltramare ne voudrait pas même de toi pour faire un hérétique!

Perravet. Monsieur le curé, vous n'êtes pas meilleur que moi: nous sommes tous enfants du bon Dieu, vous n'avez pas plus le droit de me damner, que moi de vous

mé de vo damnâ!—Pouai, de voûtra damnation, mons l'Encourâ, ze m'en fote!

damner. Pah! de votre damnation, monsieur le curé, je m'en moque.

H. J. CHAYTOR.

NOTES.

[1] *fassive*. This form of the imperfect is regular in Savoyard, and repeated continually in this text. Thus, amâve, travaillève, teuiève or tenive, saiève, (savoir), rediève (rendre), étai and étive occur indifferently. Avoir, makes avîve. Cf. Prodigal Son (Luke xv. 13) 'le plué djouâne qu'avîve tot amasha, s'en alla deferer dans ou paï éloigna' (cf. Grisons, avaiva). With these, cf. the O.F. imperfects of the eastern dialects (Burgundian), as chantève, *e.g.* St. Bernard (*Le Roux de Lincy. Sermons choisis*, Paris, 1841, p. 554), 'et s'il donkes ne veskivet jai mies selonc la char.'

[2] *vegnive*. Imperf. as above, gn=n mouillé. Cf. Duret, *Grammaire Savoyarde*, p. 50.

[3] *bailla*, 'gave.' From Lat. *bajulare (Prov. bailar, Fr. bailler), Ital. balire. O.F. ballir is, however, from Lat. *bajulire. Cf. Duret, pp. 44 and 45.

[4] *golliardi*, O.F. goliardie (gula + term. pejorative art, goliart).

[5] *panâ*, O.F. paner. Prov. panar, der. pannus. = essuyer, torcher.

[6] *preu*, as surviving in Mod. Fr. 'ni peu ni pron.' O.F. and Prov. pro. (for deriv^{n}. fr. prodest, and cognate words, v. Godefroy).

[7] *fétu* = brin de paille, is modern French.

[8] *prets*, crab-pears.

[9] *graffions*, bigarreau, a large cherry.

[10] *blias*, perh. also a local form of blavet (Bridel, *Glossaire du Patois de la Suisse Romande*), *i.e.* bluet, a well-known Alpine flower (centaurea cyanus).

[11] *orendrait*, O.F. orendroit. Prov. orendrei (ha hora in directo).

[12] *cu*, cul, derrière (perh. *ver de cu* here = tape-worm), cu fouetta, of a child who has been whipped.

[13] *mons Gosse*, a bone-setter, learned in simples, who lived in the neighbourhood of Samoëns.

[14] *farfadets*, a kind of Brownie or household spirit, sometimes malevolent, sometimes helpful.

[15] *Oltramare*, the Protestant pastor.

THE TARTAR MYTH.

IN another place[1] I have tried to explain Ital. *orco*, Span. *huerco* for *ogre*, as a substitution for *Tartaro*, which itself has the double meaning of 'hell' and 'Tartar'; in confirmation of this supposition, I there quoted the well-known pun of Lewis IX., about sending the Tartars back into Tartarus, from which they had escaped. It has since occurred to me that a collection of mediæval puns and apocryphal stories about the Tartars might strengthen my *a priori* assumption; the result of my search has been more than satisfactory, and the conviction of a well-developed Tartar Myth was forced upon me. In the following pages I shall trace its growth and ramifications.

The irruption of the Tartars in Central Europe, in 1241, had struck terror into the Christian world, and the periodic prophecy of the coming of the Antichrist and the destruction of the universe seemed at last soon to be fulfilled.[2] The Tartars were believed to be the very messengers of hell, and fantastic stories about their cruelties were rapidly disseminated among the terrified nations of the West. The further removed a people was from the fields of battle and the countries ravaged by the Asiatic hordes, the more did the popular conception of the invaders depart from the actual truth. The Russian, Polish, Bohemian, and Hungarian chronicles have, indeed, a great deal to tell about the atrocities of the Mongols, but one would in vain look in them for those exaggerated accounts in which they are changed into ogres and cannibals. The actual facts were bad enough, and the daily experiences of the sufferers prevented them from seeing in the barbarians anything but human beings. Besides, though the Tartars were ruthless conquerors, they were not devoid of many good traits that found ready acknowledgment in those who came in close contact with them.[3] Many foreigners, among them even Frenchmen, were to be found in the distant Asiatic camps, and they were by no means dissatisfied with their lots.[4] The military aggressiveness of the Tartars found its counterpart in the crass ignorance, superstitious intolerance, haughty arrogance of Christian Europe. It would have been an easy matter to convert the Tartar princes to the Catholic faith, for they were equally tolerant, or indifferent, to all religions,[5] but the efforts

[1] *Anglia*, vol. xxiii., Erstes Heft.

[2] Cf. *The 'Opus Majus'* of Roger Bacon, Oxford, 1897, vol. ii. p. 234.

[3] Cf. Carpin's *Historia Mongolorum quos nos Tartaros appellamus*, in *Recueil des Voyages et des Mémoires*, publié par la Société de Géographie, vol. iv. p. 633 ff., where there is a chapter on 'De bonis moribus Tartarorum,' which, of course, is followed by 'De malis moribus.'

[4] Cf. *Itinerarium Willelmi de Rubruk*, *ib.* p. 309.

[5] Cf. *Mirabilia descripta per fratrem Jordanum*, *ib.* p. 47.

of the Franciscans sent with that purpose were brought to naught by their stubborn insistence that the Mongols must stop drinking kumys, as contrary to Christian morals. But without kumys life would be impossible in the deserts and plains of Central Asia, and the Tartars could not yield to the persuasive arguments of the missionaries.[1]

Where the mere trifle of a dish could so powerfully affect the Christians, real defects and savage customs must have naturally appeared even more monstrous to them. The most incredible stories were being circulated about them in France, Burgundy, Spain, in England, in Italy.

Timor non modicus eiusdem barbare gentis remotiores etiam partes, non solum Galliam[2] sed et Burgundiam et Hispaniam invasit, quibus nomen Tartarorum antea incognitum fuit. Multa quidem de ortu, ritu et victu predicte barbare gentis audimus incredibilia et omnino inhumana, que nondum nobis plene cognita supersedimus hic scribenda, donec nobis super hoc mera veritas illucescat, quam loco congruo ducemus ponendam. (*Annales S. Pantaleonis Coloniensis*, in *Mon. Ger. Hist.*, xxii. p. 535.)

This entry is made under the year 1241, and very shortly after was written the *Miserabile Carmen*, by an eye-witness of the frightful carnages in Bohemia and Hungary. According to him it were better not to be born than to fall into the hands of the Tartars, where one would fare worse than in hell.

Et sciant cuncti hec me temere non referre, quod quisquis ad manus ipsorum devenerit Tartarorum, si natus non fuisset, melius esset ei, et *sentiet se non a Tartaris, sed in Tartaro detineri.* (Rogerii *Miser. Carmen*, in *Mon. Ger. Hist.* xxix. p. 549.)

Whether the original name was Tattar or Tartar, there was no escaping the pun which simply begged for recognition.[3] There is hardly a writer or a mere chronicler of the thirteenth century who has not repeated this play upon words. Abundant cases of it are to be found in the various sources from which Matthew Paris has drawn for his *Historia Anglorum* and *Chronica Majora*, and in other writers:

Gens Tartariorum, a Tartaro oriunda. (Letter of Jordan, provincial vicar of the Franciscans in Poland, in *Chron. Maj.*, vi. p. 80; in *Rer. Brit. Med. Aevi Scrip.*) Valde namque tristamur quod tot fidelium sanguinem Tartaricus vel potius Tartareus mucro eis parcere nescius devoravit. (Letter of Innocent IV. to the Archbishop of Canterbury, *ib.* p. 173.) Imminet nostrum omnium et sacrosanctae ecclesiae nostris temporibus exterminium generale, ex impetuoso super nos adventu Tartarorum. Quo audito, rex (Lodowicus IX.) voce flebili, sed non sine divino spiramine, respondit: Erigat nos, mater, caeleste solatium. Quia si superveniant ipsi, vel nos ipsos quos vocamus Tartaros, ad suas Tartareas sedes unde exierunt, retrudemus, vel ipsi nos omnes ad caelum subvehent (*Ib.* iv. p. 111). Gens barbarae nationis et vitae, quo nescimus a loco vel origine, Tartari nuncupata . . . dicti Tartari, immo Tartarei (Epistola imperatoris de adventu Tartarorum, *ib.* pp. 111, 112). Speramus autem in Domino Jesu Christo, quo duce, quo praevio, hactenus ab inimicis nostris liberati triumphavimus, ut et hii, qui de Tartareis sedibus proruperunt, fastu deposito, expertis Occidentis viribus quas sibi sentient adversantes, ad sua Tartara Tartari detrudentur (*Ib.* p. 118). Inhumani Tartari prorumpentes de Tartareis sedibus suis nativis (Ib. *Hist. Angl.*, ii. p. 409). Subito gens Tartarica, velut a Tartaris ebulliens infernalibus, tartarice in omne regnum Ungarie ac Polonie per stragem fidelium Christi et inhumane desevit (*Chron. Polono-Silesiacum*, in *Mon. Ger. Hist.*, xix. p. 565)—geus quedam Tartarica, quasi de Tartaro infernali subito accessu ebulicns potenter intravit Ungariam (*Kronika xiążąt polskich*, in *Mon. Polon. Hist.*, iii. p. 489). Nam Tartari, potius nominandi Tartarei, gens effera, gens immitis (*Menkonis Chronicon*, in *Mon. Ger. Hist.*, xxiii. p. 548).

So firmly rooted had this pun become in the minds of the mediæval writers, that they invariably associated the Tartars with hell in one form or another; they are called the satellites of the devil and hell-hounds, and are made to spring from the bottomless pit, from the abyss and simply from caverns, substituting thus any word for the original *Tartarus*:

Furor Dominicus avertatur, quo Tartari diaboli satellites de terra viventium estirpentur (Math. Paris, *Chron. Maj.*, vi., p. 84, in *Brit. Med. Aevi Scrip.*). Sine mora contra canes Tartareos magnifice processuri (*Conradi IV. Constitutiones*, in *Mon. Ger. Hist.*, Leg. Scc., iv. ii. p. 445). Sicut locuste, que de abyssi puteo emerserunt

[1] Cf. *Itinerarium Willelmi de Rubruk*, *ib.* p. 244 f.; it seems, however, that Rubruk did not share that superstition.

[2] For this country we have also a direct testimony. 'En l'an de grace 1236 [1241] fu France et toutes autres terres mout espouvantees pour les nouveles des Tartarins, car mout s'en fouirent de genz de Hongrie et des terres qui sont dela Alemaigne; et lessa l'en en Francc mout de marchcandises a faire pour la paour des Tartarins.' (*Ex historiae regnum Franciae continuatione Parisiensi*, in *Mon. Ger. Hist.*, xxvi. p. 604.) For Italy we have the following: 'Et di questa venuta de' Tartari fu si grande e spaventevole fama che infino a questi nostri paesi si temea fortemente di loro, che non passassero in Italia.' (*Historie Fiorentine di Giovanni Villani*, in Muratori's *Rer. Ital. Scrip.* (1728), XIII., lib. vi., chap. xxviii. p. 174.)

[3] L. Ṣăinénu (*Basmele române*, p. 809) pursues the opposite course when he derivcs Ronm. *tartorŭ* 'căpetenia demonilorŭ' from *tartarus* 'hell,' as a parallel of *ogre* from *orcus*; the reverse is, no doubt, true even in this case. It is remarkable that in Basque fairy tales *tartaro* has the meaning of 'giant.'

(*Alexandri IV. Epist. ad Richardum, ib.* p. 518). Obiit quaedam gens quae dicuntur Tartari, filii Ismael, egressi de cavernis (*Annales Monastici*, i. p. 118, in *Brit. Med. Aevi Scrip.*). Flagellum irae caelestis immanium Tartarorum quasi ex abditis erumpentium (*Ib.* p. 495).

To none of the contemporaries did this pun appeal more than to the English poet John de Garlande, who had frequent recourse to it in his long poem *De Triumphis Ecclesiae*,[1] that abounds in all kinds of quaint conceits and ingenious constructions. He plays on the word in every possible way:

Tartareae gentis excessus exprimo diros
In nos quam diram Tartara dira movent.
(5. 29, 30)

Marte Coresminos abigunt feritate lupinos
Saevi Tartarei, quos movet ira Dei.
(25. 15, 16)

Panditur ex Aquilone malum, quod Tartara mittunt
Tartaream gentem, cum feritate nova.
(107. 27, 28)

Tharsenses Tharsis transmiserat, hos alieno
Nomine Tartareos dicimus esse viros.
Judicis ira, Dei permissio, culpa reorum,
Inferni livor, haec nova bella parant.
(108. 3-7)

Tartara miserunt hos.
(111. 27)

Hos ut cognoscas, illos denominat error
Ipsorum, quia sunt Tartarus ipse niger;
Non sunt Tartarei tantum, sed Tartarus ipse.
(113. 3-5)

We see from the above quotations that the punning etymology was quite universal, that it was used freely in England, France, Germany, Hungary, Poland. It must be also assumed that it passed out of the books and chronicles and aided in the popular association of the Tartars with 'hell,' even where the homonym no longer could be maintained. In the South-East the word *Tartar* has assumed the meaning of 'evil giant,' and is as such in common use in Roumania, Bulgaria, and the adjoining countries.[2] In the West of Europe the Lat. *orcus* seems to have become more popular than the other, *tartarus*; hence it was but natural to transfer the current relation of the Asiatic horde to the nethermost regions to the more familiar name of *orcus*.[3] No doubt, even before the arrival of the Tartars, *orcus* must have received popularly the meaning of a dismal region infested by evil spirits, or it may even have been personified in some form as an evil spirit.[4] But it will not be difficult to show that all the attributes of the ogre have been derived from the sum total of mythical stories that were disseminated in the thirteenth century in regard to the Tartars.

One of the most persistent myths of the origin of the Tartars was that they were descendants of the lost tribes of the Jews who had been shut up in the Caspian mountains by Alexander the Great.[5] Even Roger Bacon, who carefully avoids all fantastic tales about the Tartars, fully subscribes to this belief.[6] The Jews of Europe had to suffer their share for this illusion, for they were supposed to furnish clandestine help to the invaders and to send them arms, in the hope that they, the lost tribes of Israel, would come and redeem the European Jews from their bondage among the Gentiles.[7] In the Balkan Peninsula and in Russia, another word for 'evil giant' is *Jew*. After various guesses as to the origin of this peculiar meaning, the native scholars have finally come to see in it a reminiscence of the Khazars who were of Tartar origin, and professed the Mosaic law.[8] It seems to me, however, that it is much more likely that the popular conception of the invader as being of Jewish origin had really more to do with attaching the meaning of 'giant' to the *Jew*,[9] especially since the Mosaic law

[1] Johannis de Garlandia *De Triumphis Ecclesiae* Libri octo, edited by Thomas Wright, London, 1856.

[2] A. Strauss, *Die Bulgaren*, p. 235; L. Şăinénu, *Basmele Române*, p. 807, and *Studiĭ folklorice*.

[3] The very attributes of the *ogre* in the West are ascribed to the *Tartars* in Roumania. Cf. Şăinénu, *Basmele române*, p. 28, 29 (*Tătarĭĭ mâncătorĭ de ómenĭ*), 807.

[4] So, for example, in Covarrubia's Dictionary: Llaman *huerco* al que esta sempre llorando y triste, escondido en las tinieblas y escuridad por ser un retrato de la muerte.

[5] 'Immensus siquidem erat eorum exercitus et innumerabilis, facie quidam sordidi, cultu horribiliores, Tartarini appellati. Unde quidam eos a Tharso Cilicie nominatos dicebant. Alii vero asserebant, eos Judeos illos esse quos ferunt ab Alexandro rege Magno intra Caspios montes quondam fuisse inclusos.' (*Richeri Gesta Senoniensis Ecclesiae*, in *Mon. Ger. Hist.*, xxv. p. 310.) See also Matth. Paris, *Chron. Maj.*, iv. p. 76, in *Rer. Brit. Med. Aevi Scrip., ib.* p. 131-133; *Historie Fiorentine*, in Muratori's *Rer. Ital. Scrip.*, xiii. p. 144 (*ib.* v. cap. xxix.).

[6] *Opus Majus*, vol. i. p. 302 ff. For other references see note to this on p. 303.

[7] Cf. the paragraph on the thirteenth century antisemitism in Strakosch-Grassmann's *Der Einfall der Mongolen in Mitteleuropa in den Jahren* 1241 *und* 1242, p. 116 f.

[8] Strauss, *Die Bulgaren*, p. 239 ff.

[9] There are other startling resemblances in the Bulgarian and Roumanian 'Jews' to the stories in Pian di Carpini and Vincent of Beauvais. Thus Strauss speaks (p. 38 f.) of them as being unable to rise when they fall, and of protecting themselves against thunder; these stories are told, the first of wild men, the second of Tartars in our sources.

was far from being universally practised among the Khazars, and since the Khazars have not generally been associated with inhuman atrocities; certainly the Jewish Khazars may well be supposed to have been of a milder disposition.

The most prominent feature of the ogre is his cannibalism. 'I smell the blood of an Englishman,' 'i schmöke ne Crist,' 'her lugter saa Kristen mands been,'[1] are sentences that frequently occur in referring to the ogre, and in the south of France he is simply called *mango-crestian*, 'devourer of Christians.' Now the *Orcus* (or the *fauces Orci*) has been frequently represented as a devourer of human beings;[2] but that the *ogre* should swallow good Christians, who of all human beings are exempt from hell, is to be explained only by his being a ruthless pagan, a Tartar, whose boast it was that he had been sent by God as a scourge to Christendom. The moment he was identified with hell, the possibility offered itself of making him eat human beings, and indeed immediately after 1241 such statements are made by various writers. In many cases, however, it cannot be positively ascertained whether entries under 1241 were really written down then or later. It can, in fact, be shown that several, if not all, of these found their way into chronicles after 1245, that is, after Pian di Carpini had written his *Historia Mongolorum quos nos Tartaros appellamus.* Neither in the various letters of the Pope nor in that of the kings of Europe is there even a distant reference to cannibalism. Not even Rogerius, in his *Carmen Miserabile*, has anything to say about it, although he imputes the worst atrocities to them. None of the missionaries who came in actual contact with the invader make mention of any customary cannibalism. But there is a passage in the work of Pian di Carpini which has given rise to a number of gruesome stories whose horrors go on *crescendo* as they pass from writer to writer.

Pian di Carpini had been sent by Innocent IV. with other friars of the Franciscan order to preach the gospel to the Tartars. After his return he wrote his report of his mission with an historical and geographical discussion of the Mongols. It is a remarkable work, clear and unprejudiced for his time. His contemporaries drew all their information about the Tartars from this book, and Vincent of Beauvais included a résumé of this work in his *Speculum historiale*, which was later, in 1473,[3] among the very first books to come from the newly invented press. After this it found its way into a large number of works of travel, side by side with the exaggerated remodellings of the legendary parts.

The passage that interests us especially runs as follows:

Cibi eorum sunt omnia quae mandi possunt: comedunt enim canes, lupos, vulpes, et equos; *etiam in necessitate carnes humanas manducant: unde quando pugnaverunt contra quandam civitatem Kytaorum ubi morabatur imperator ipsorum, quam obsederunt tam diu quod defecerunt ipsis Tartaris omnino expensae, et quia non habebant quid manducarent omnino, tunc accipiebatur de decem hominibus unus ad manducandum.* Abluviones etiam quae egrediuntur de fumentis eum pullis manducant: imo vidimus etiam eos pediculos manducare; dicebant enim: 'Numquid eos debeo manducare eum mei filii carnes manducent et ipsius sanguinem bibunt?' Vidimus etiam ipsos comedere mures. Mensalibus et manutergiis non utuntur. Panem non habent, nec olera, nec legumina, nec aliquid aliud nisi carnes; de quibus etiam tam pancas manducant, quod aliae nationes vix inde vivere possent (p. 638 ff.).

The italicised sentence has a distinct reference to cannibalism, and is a likely enough story; it has happened often enough in our own times, as, for example, in the Greeley expedition. Less than twenty years later there was written Vincent's enormous encyclopædia of knowledge, of which one part, the *Speculum historiale*, gave historical and geographical information from all known authors. Naturally Pian di Carpini is there; but in addition, he quotes also largely friar Simon of Saint-Quentin, who had been sent on an independent mission, but whose narrative has not come to us except through the *Speculum historiale.* It seems, however, that some of the legendary matter mixed up with the information given by Simon is due to a popular perversion of the passage from Pian di Carpini quoted above. At least, the following bears such an imprint:

Ratos etiam et canes edunt et eatos libentissime

[1] Jacob Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, vierte Ausgabe, vol. i. p. 402.

[2] In Thomas Sharp's *Dissertation on the Pageants or Dramatic Mysteries anciently performed at Coventry*, Coventry 1825, there are several representations of Hellmouth (p. 61 ff.), from which it appears that the mouth of Hell (fauces Orci) was generally represented as the jaws of a terrible man-devouring monster. But most of these are of late origin, and an early one is from a German source; in neither is there an attempt to draw Hell as a whole being.

[3] Of the enormous popularity of this work one can easily judge from the fact that at least nine editions of it were published before the end of the fifteenth century. Cf. d'Avezac, *Relation des Mongoles ou Tartares*, in *Recueil des Voyages et des Mémoires*, vol. iv. p. 434.

comedunt . . . Carnes autem humauas deuorant vt lcoues assas igni et elixas comedentes. Cumque capiuut aliquem sibi contrarium et inimicum valde conveniunt in vnum locum comesturi eum in vlcionem rebellionis sibi facte: sanguinem eius auide sugentes velut sanguisnge infernales. Denique cum eis victualia deficercnt in obsidione I. cuiusdam vrbis Kimorum de decem hominibus accipiebatur vnus ad manducandum.

(Edition of Mentellin, 1473, lib. xxx., cap. lxxviii.)

What was a foreed eannibalism before has beeome here a voluntary and usual praetiee: they eat their enemies as a punishment for their rebellion, and they eat them either boiled or roasted. This is elaborated even more in another plaee:

Crudeles adeo sunt vt ncc senem reuereantur nec puerorum miscreantur. Effusio sanguinis apud eos tanquam effusio aque reputatur . . . carnes humanas deuorant vt leones tam assas igni quam elixas et hoc quandoque causa necessitatis, quandoque causa delectacionis, quandoque causa timoris et horroris incutiendi populis hoc audituris. Itaque in occisioue hominum exultantes gloriantur et in multitudine occisorum anima eorum mirabiliter delectatur. Itaque de rupibus homines precipitant, alios colla ponendo supcr lapides excerebrant, aliisque lapidibus ipsum terendo collum occidunt. Intrantes domos homines etiam timore mortis absconditos iufixo cultello in cordc occidunt et sanguine corum adhuc e vulneribus effluente sedent et comedunt ac bibunt dicentes iterumque percutientes (*Ib.*, cap. lxxvii.).

The other ehroniclers give a variety of versions of the above, with more or less details, and one of them goes one better, and makes the Tartars sell human flesh in the shambles:

Geutes estere quasi locuste de ore abissi pariter erumpentes, non solum intingere, verum etiam inebriare minimum repntarunt sanguine occisorum, quorum multitudini vix tellus suffecisset ad tumulum, nisi morticina illorum aves eeli et bestias terre ad tam execrabilem ccnam undique congregassent (*Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte*, xii. p. 644). Genus hominum monstruosum et inhumanum e montibus borealibus prorupisse. . . . Hi quoque capita habentes magna nimis et nequaquam corporibus proportionata,[1] carnibus crudis et ctiam humanis vescuntur (Matth. Paris, *Chron. Maj.*, iii. p. 488, in *Rer. Brit. Med. Aevi Scrip.*). Ea vera gens inaudite fcritatis et insolite nihil sitirc praetcr humanum sanguinem dicebatur (*Annales Floreffienses*, in *Scrip. Rer. Prussicarum*, iii. p. 412). Ut dicitur Tarthari humanis caruibus vcscerentur; nam et quartam partem eorporis puerilis per pedem circa cingulum suspensam visi sunt plurimi de Tartharis portitare (*Fortsetzung des Anonymus* (1330-1426), *ed. Lengnich*, ib. p. 724). Aud he þat fleez in bataile, þai slce him. When þai ensege a castell or a walled toune, þai behete þaim þat er enseged so faire proffers þat is es wonder; for þai will graunt what sum euer þai asch. Bot, als sone as þai hafe golden þam, þai slae þam and cuttez off þaire eres and layes þam in vynegre for to sowce and makez of þaim a dayntee meet for grete lordes (*The Buke of John Maundeuill*, printed for the Roxburghe Club, p. 123).

Quedam genera hominum, qui vocantur a quibusdam Tartarini, a quibusdam vero Comani, a quibus vero peritis creduntur esse Hysmaelite, id est filii Hysmaelis, quem habuit Abraham ex Agar ancilla sua, quos David voeat Agarenos. Predicti vero comedentes carnes hominum, bestiarum, avium et serpentium et suggentes et bibentes sanguinem et parum pani et vini utentes (*Ex Annal. S. Medardi Suessionensibus*, in *Mon. Ger. Hist.*, xxvi. p. 522). Deinde ulterius procedentes christianorum sanguinem sitieudo infantes in cunis transfiguut, mulieres iugulant (*Continuatio Lambacensis*, ib. ix. p. 559). Canes edebant et cattos et homines; humana caro publice vendebatur in nundinis. Deinde lupi rapaces et infesti, nemini parcentes, prevaluerunt in terra, ita quod vix aliquis auderet de domo sua inermis proeedere (*Continuatio Sancrucensis Secunda*, ib. ix. p. 641).

All the separate attributes of the Tartars are fully summarised in Matthew Paris:

Ne mortalium gaudia continuentur, ne sine lamentis mundana laetitia diu celebretur, eodem anno plebs Sathanae detestanda, Tartarorum scilicet exercitus infinitus, a regione sua montibus circumvallata prorupit; et saxorum immeabilium soliditate penetrata, exeuntes ad instar daemonum solutorum a tartaro, ut bene Tartari, quasi tartarei, nuncupentur, scatebant, et quasi locustae terrae superficiem cooperientes, Orientalium fines exterminio miserabili vastaverunt, incendio vacantes et stragibus . . . Viri enim sunt inhumani et bestialcs, potius monstra dicendi quam hominc, sanguinem sitientes et bibentes, earnes caninas et humanas laniantes et devorantes (*Chron. Maj.*, iv. p. 76, in *Rer. Brit. Med. Aevi Scrip.*).

A still more vivid deseription is found in a manuseript poem of the monastery at Salzburg; like the above, it puts together the various stories into one whole:

In furore domiuus orbem nunc flagellat,
Dum iratus eminus Tartarum appellat,
Peccatoris facinus puniat vel pellat,
In tartara protinus duros hinc expellat.
. . . . . .

Tartarus a tartaro
Averni claustro barbaro
Plutonis fert insignia
Rex qui necat tot milia.
. . . . . .

Coccitus duleis glareis,
Currens cum Stigis flammeis,
Produxit istos Cielopes,
Indos, Mauros, Etyopes.

Tartarus istos vomuit,
Infernus partu crepuit,
Contra orbem intonuit,
Ut furerent, hos doenit.

Tartarorum gens bruta lis
Spurca trucis crueutalis,
Ursa, parda et leena,
Carnes vorat ut hyena.

[1] The enormous size of the head, another characteristic of the ogre, is also mentioned elsewhere.

Pulmentum, panes, legumina
Non coquit, potum dant flumina,
Sed sanguis pro vino sumitur
Paratu brevi sic vivitur.

Hec gens cruoris bibula
Sitit semper ut situla ;
Levis, ferox, incredula,
Fugit ac redit ut damula.
(*Mon. Ger. Hist.*, xxix. p. 601 ff.)

All the atrocities so far mentioned pale before the vivid imagination displayed in a letter addressed to the Archbishop of Bordeaux. It would be difficult to match the refined cannibalism that feeds on old and homely women, but leaves young and pretty girls to another, though not less terrible, fate.

Quorum cadaveribus principes cum suis cenofaris aliisque lotofagis, quasi pane vescentes, nihil praeter ossa vulturibus relinquebant (at the foot of the page is a representation of the Tartars slaughtering, roastiug, and devouring their victims ; above 'Nephandi Tartari vel Tattari humauis carnibus vescentes'). . . . Mulieres autem vetulas et deformes antropofagis, qui vulgo reputantur, in escam quasi pro diarrio dabant ; nec formosis vescebantur, sed eas clamantes et ejulantes in multitudine coitum suffocabant. Virgines quoque usque ad exanimacionem opprimebant, et tandem abscisis earum papillis, quas magistratibus pro deliciis reservabant, ipsis virgineis corporibus lautius epulabantur (Matth. Par., *Chron. Maj.*, iv. p. 273, in *Rer. Brit. Med. Aevi Scrip.*).

John de Garlande evidently knew the above letter when he composed his seventh book of the previously mentioned *De Triumphis Ecclesiae*, for it contains a close paraphrase of it. He also speaks of the relations of the Jews to the Tartars :

Monstriferae famae non credo per omnia, sed me
De monstris dicta monstra referre juvat.
. . . . . .
Gens est saeva nimis, Sathanaequa domestica, pestis
Ecclesiae, fidei dissona, caedis amans.
Limpha, merum, panis, caro, piscis, friget, abundat,
Incandet, nutrit, vivit in aede proba.
Excedit gens ista feras, quae mundus abhorret,
Cur ? quia naturam calcat iniqua suam.
Quaeris forte modum calcandi, sanguinis haustu
Emadet humani, se furor iste bibit.
Esuriens hominem corrodit homo ; leo nullus
Carne leonina viscera laxa replet.
Non lupus ungue lupum lacerat, geus ista colurnis
In veribus vertit membra veruta foco.
Famam Virgilius monstrum depingit habere
Sub plumis oculos instabilesque gradus ;
Illi mille dedit linguas figmenta loquentes,
Falsis fermentat sic modo vera loquax.
Fingit fama tamen quaedam conformia vero,
Nam mihi pro certo presbyter ista tulit.
Presbyteros terrae prosternunt, sic crucifigunt
Illos prostratos, excruciantque diu.
Matres occidunt, parvosque per ubera matrum
Flentes, clamantes, ire, perire, sinunt.
Hac feritate refert hos fama bibisse medullas
Humanas, feritas quod scelus ista timet.
Sic ex concesso fit fama sophistica, dicet
Nil contra positum de feritate loquens.
Pingues, et teneros, et molles, et generosos,
Et pulchros, horum rex coquit igne sibi.
Plebs vorat annosos, nigros, duros, scabiosos,
Hirsutos, tremulos, hoc nec abhorret opus.
Quod sequitur vere faciunt, muliebria truncant
Guttura, post veneris corpora juncta suae.
. . . . . .
Hii quia sunt diri nequeunt pietate poliri.
Hiis periere Tyri, Pergameique viri.
Cor gustando ferum, foetus truncant mulierum,
Sanctum, me miserum, non venerantur herum.
. . . . . .
Consimiles sacra dant Judaeis sordida divo,
Viscera ponendo, mundificant male se ;
Se male mundificant, ponendo viscera divo
Sordida, Judaeis dant sacra consimiles.
Dum circumcisa pro pelle merentur Apellae
Nomen, cognomen hoc valet esse suum.
Hae gentes miserae mortem misere per orbem,
Destructas leges per mala cuncta leges.
Quid referam plausus quos perfida dat synagoga ?
Nuncia quid promam, perfidiamque suam ?
Munera praetereo quae mittit clam vel aperte,
Dum sibi Messiam credit habere suum.
Spes sua messe caret ; expectans tempore tanto
Messiam, sterilem spem miseranda fovet.
Hos ut cognoscas, illos denominat error
Ipsorum, quia sunt Tartarus ipse niger ;
Non sunt Tartarei tantum, sed Tartarus ipse ;
Gens scelerata nimis dicitur, immo scelus.
Pagina sacra viros verpos denominat istos,
De quibus in toto personat orbe fragor.

It would seem that imagination had exhausted itself in the writers quoted, and that nothing startlingly new could be added to the description of an ogre. But such is not the case. A chronicler of the city of Lübeck who, a century later, pretends to quote Vincent of Beauvais, caps the climax, when he causes the Tartars to stick pipes into the body of the captured enemy and suck him dry. A still more remarkable resemblance to the popular ogre is concocted by the writer, when he tells of the Tartars keeping the besieged enemy in the walls of the city, to be eaten up in proper time like pigs in a pen.

Ok sind de Fatheren unbarmhertlich, se gheten minschenblot so drade also water ; minscheuvlesch eten se unde drinken minschenblot, alse den win, en del umme node, en del umme arstedie, en del umme vruchten to makende anderen luden. Se weten van vasten edder vire nicht to seghende, alle daghe ethen ze vlesch van minschen oder van anderen deerthen, ane mulvlesch ; des en eten se in nenen tyden. Went se vanghen enen viant, umme den besammelen se sik al de vrunde unde maken ene werscop ; dar steken se den viant al dore mit mesten, unde sughen em dat blod ute deme live ; dit ghift en grote luste . . . Konet se dat hiis zo nicht winnen, zo vorbuwen se dat, unde wonen dar umme suuder vordret 10 jar odder 12 ; se spreken honeliken aldus : 'wy hebbet hir ghude meste swine up deme kovcu ; der wil wy beiden, dat wy se slan to unser speise.'

Ander velc bosheit unde dorheit siut geschreven van den Tatheren; so we der mer wil weten, der se in den coronikan van deu Tateren odder iu den coroniken des hilghen landes; in deme druttischen boke, dat heet speculum historiarum, dar vint he dat gans beschreven. (*Detmar Chronik von* 1101-1395, in *Chroniken der deutschen Städte*, xix. p. 282.)

The continuator of this chronicle outdid even that story:

Hir is nu en vraghe, wat er spise was in deme weghe. Men antworte hirto: wat se vunden in deme weghe: perde, ezele, mulen, ossen, schape. Dat vlesch eten se ro; dat blot drunken se. War, des en brak in den derthen, dar grepen se au de menschen, sunderliken vrowen unde juncvrowen; de unerden se, unde, wen se eren snoden willen hadden mit en vullen bracht, so stecken se dore se, soghen ut ere blot unde dat vlesch vreten se ro. Wor se vunden kindere, den sloghen se aff ere koppe; se sneden up ere buke; se worpen uth de Kaldunen unde eten darvan de helfte; de anderen helfte henghen se in den zadel nude ettent darna, wente en hungherde. Noch in Prutzen oveden se desse unmenscheit aldermest. De edelen vorsten mank en, also konnighe, hertoghen unde greven, de hadden ses order X wive bi sik, der men wol plach, dat se alle tiid weren vul melkes. De soghen se alse kindere to erer voderinghe. Hir moghe gi proven de unmenscheit des volkes. (*Fortsetzung von Detmars Lübischer Chronik in der Hamburger Handschrift*, in *Scrip. Rer. Prussicarum*, iii. p. 405.)

We thus find every attribute of the ogre given by a large variety of writers of the thirteenth and later centuries, *without having even one reference to an ogre, by name or otherwise.* The nearest approach to such a mention is Vincent's *sanguisugae*, who are rather vampires than ogres. It is certainly strange that a man like de Garlande should have omitted such an illustration if the *ogre* was at all a familiar being. The man-eating *masca* mentioned in the Longobardian laws is more of a witch than an ogress, and had, probably, in the thirteenth century, no other meaning than at present in the south of France, namely that of 'sorcerer' and 'witch.' At any rate, no strong temptation existed then to adduce an ogre-like being as an illustration, or as a name for the Tartars, who were evidently identical with them in the popular conception. We are, then, forced to assume that the idea of the *ogre* received a renewed impulse through the latest Asiatic invasion, and that it became known to Western Europe in the forms of words derived from *orcus*; in this the popular mind saw a reflex of the persistent pun of *tartarus*, which latter remained confined to the books only. The very fact of the preservation of *orcus*, no matter whether my guess be correct or not, is a *primâ facie* evidence that this and not *tartarus* was the popular word for 'hell.' I derive *ogre* from the old word for 'Hungarian'; but this does not in any way invalidate my argument, as the very form of the word shows that it must have been formed early during the first invasion of Hungarians, long before the latter name became universal; that is, it was known not much later than the time when we find the word *masca* used. It, no doubt, lingered on until it was revived together with *orco*, to represent the fabled atrocities of the fiendish enemy of Christendom.

LEO WIENER.

OBSERVATIONS.

THE VOX AND THE WOLF.

IN looking once more at the thirteenth century poem entitled 'The Vox and the Wolf,' printed in Reliquiæ Antiquæ from the Digby MS. 86, and edited by Mätzner in his *Sprachproben*, I have been much struck by the extraordinary manner in which it plentifully illustrates what I have lately said about the peculiarities of Norman scribes. Here is a case in which Anglo-French pronunciation is the obvious clue to the spelling, and the examples are of an unmistakable character. The poem is one of only 295 lines, so that, for once, it is hardly necessary to give full references. But I think that a brief summary of its peculiarities will be of interest; so I presume to offer it.

H. As usual, the scribe has little knowledge of the true value of *h*. In the following cases he drops it; *ou*, how; *oundred*, hundred; *afingret*, of-hungered, a-hungered. But in many more places he inserts it; with some astonishing results, e.g. *houre*, our; *heddre* for *eldre*, a veiu; *hounderstod*, understood; *ouer-hede* for *over-yede*, went away; *hiis*, is; *hertou*, art thou; *houp*, up; *hete* for *ete*, ate (plural); *heuerechon*, every one; *hof-thurst*, athirst; *alhone*, alone; *hede* for *yede*, went.

Surely such wonderful spellings as *hiis* for *is*, *houp* for *up*, *alhone* for *alone*, show a special genius; and nothing but Anglo-French can explain such a form as *hede* for *yede*. It resulted from putting an *h* before the form *ede*, a form due to the dropping of initial *y*.

Such a spelling as *hiis* is very instructive; it clearly arose from dwelling too much upon the vowel. Even in modern times, French pronunciation is sometimes indicated by writing 'zat ces' for 'that is.'

K. The use of *k* for *c* was much favoured by

French scribes; hence we find *kok*, *kare*, *kunne* (for 'kin'), *i-kaut*, caught, *klene*, *kors*, curse, *kometh*.

SH. This sound was new to him, and hard to achieve; so he writes *sriue* for *shrive*, *srift* for *shrift*, *i-sriue* for *y-shriven*.

V, *W*. These are confounded; hence we have *rolf* for *wolf*, *veud* for *wend*, *ves* for *wes*, *i.e.* was. On the other hand, we have *wox* for *vox*, *wous* for *vous*, *wroggen* for *vroggen*; and, as the dialect is Southern, we must again turn *v* into *f*, and we get *fox*, *fous* (eager, prompt, l. 12), and *froggen*, *i.e.* frogs. Such spellings as *wous* and *wroggen* tend much to disguise the words.

Y. Initial *y*, as a consonant, was unknown in French, and often dropped in Anglo-French; hence *ou* means *you*, and *ede* means *yede* (went).

WH. Of course, *wh* is reduced to *w*, as in modern London; hence *wat*, *wen*, *weder* (whither); note also *wo*, who, *wom*, whom, which are remarkable.

ST. Final *st* was naturally reduced to *s*; as in *nestes* for A.S. *uystest*, thou didst not know.

D, *T*. Final *d* and *t* were hard to distinguish. Hence *afingret* means *afhungred*, a-hungered, and *thousent* means 'thousand.' On the other hand, *biud* is written for *bint*, he binds (254), and *viud* for *vint*, i.e. *fint*, he finds.

GH. The easiest way of treating *gh* was simply to let it slide; as in *uout*, *bithout*, *i-brout*, *i-kaut*, for *nought*, *bethought*, *brought*, *caught*; and *dou* for *dough*. Against this the modern Englishman cannot protest, for it is what he does himself: and the reason why he does so is because the Norman noble could not manage it, and it was not for his inferiors to put him to shame overmuch. The most interesting point is that the scribe knew what he ought to aim at, and so he actually writes *thohute* for *thoughte* (13), *sohute* for *soughte* (69), and *brohute* for *broughte* (70). This shows that the *ou* in these words was a real diphthong, due to the insertion of *u* after the original long *o*.

Short U. A very remarkable point is that the scribe dwelt upon short *u* just as he did upon short *i*. Hence his short *u* became long *u*, the symbol for which was *ou* (as in *soup*). This explains such words as *hounger*, *ounder*, *soumme* (some), *ouuwiis* (unwise, 139), *oup* and *houp* for *up*, *gounneu* (for *gunneu*, 283), *i-stounge* (292). Yet he knew it was hardly right, for he has *i-swouge* in l. 291.

Another reason for this was that *u* was wanted as a symbol for the A.S. *y*; as in *bruche*, 21; *putte*, 113; *fulthe*, *sunne*, 165; *cnul* (knell), 251. The symbol for the A.S. long *y* was *ui*, i.e. *u* modified by *i*; as in *luitle*, little, 260. The whole poem is full of Southern characteristics.

WALTER W. SKEAT.

'A BLOOD.'

WE are familiar with this expression in eighteenth-century literature in the sense of a 'man of spirit, a man of fashion.' I wish to raise the question whether this use is also Elizabethan, as is often assumed.

Schmidt, under the definition 'a young man,' quotes two passages from Shakespeare:

Cæsar, IV. iii. 262, 'young bloods look for a time of rest.'
Much Ado, III. iii. 141, 'all the hot bloods between fourteen and five and twenty.'

Under the special sense 'a man of mettle, a spirited fellow,' he quotes four passages:

Love's Labour Lost, V. ii. 714, 'sweet bloods.'
King John, II. i. 278, 'as many and as well-born bloods. (In this passage the word 'many' may refer back to 'witnesses,' l. 274.)
King John, II. i. 461, 'What cannoneer begot this lusty blood?'
Cæsar, I. ii. 151, 'the breed of noble bloods.

Murray, in the *New English Dictionary*, under the definition 'a hot spark, a man of fire, a "buck," a "fast" or foppish man, rake, roisterer, quotes:

1562. Bulleyn, *Sicke Men, etc.*, 73*a*, 'a lustie blood or a plesaunte brave young roister';
1595. (One of the above passages from *King John*);
1622. Bacon, *Henry VII.*, 49, 'divers young Bloods,'

after which he quotes an indubitable case of 'Blood' used according to his definition from Horace Walpole, 1749, 'who had been a blood.'

Whitney and Ogilvie content themselves with a quotation from Goldsmith (indubitable), Hunter quotes the Bacon passage, and Richardson has no quotation.

Now, is it right to say that 'Blood' in the quotations from Shakespeare, Bulleyn and Bacon has the eighteenth century sense? This, till more convincing evidence is forthcoming, I dispute.

In none of the Elizabethan quotations is 'blood' used alone without an epithet, and my belief is that such a use as 'he had been a blood' would have been impossible to an Elizabethan.

What we do find in the Elizabethan passages is the application to a person of a compound expression of which the word 'blood' forms the last element. 'A young blood,' 'a hot blood,' 'a sweet blood,' 'a well-born blood,' 'a lusty blood,' 'a noble blood.' In all these expressions I believe the stress would fall on the adjective, as it does in 'lion-heart,' 'sweet-heart,' 'merry-go-round.' And, accordingly, it is wrong to pick out the word 'blood' from the compound phrase and say that it bears the eighteenth-century sense of 'a young man,' or 'a spirited fellow,' or 'a roisterer.' In More's *Utopia* (ed. Lumby, p. 35) we find 'these gentell bloudes and stoute stomackes.' If 'bloudes' here means 'young men' or 'roisterers,' why should not 'stomackes' have some similar meaning assigned to it? The two expressions are surely quite parallel.

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SOME REMARKS ON THE CHANGE OF GENDER OF GERMAN NOUNS.

MOST nouns have the same gender in all Germanic languages, yet differences of gender are not unfrequent. For example, Gothic *dails* is feminine, Old Saxon *dēl*, Anglo-Saxon *dǽl* are masculine, Old High German *teil* is masculine or neuter; Gothic *lustus* is masculine, so is also Anglo-Saxon *lust*, but in Old High German and in Old Saxon *lust* is femiuine, as is also Old Norse *lyst*[1]; Gothic *harjis*, Anglo-Saxon *here*, Old Norse *herr* are masculine, Old High German *hari* or *heri* is neuter, Old Saxon *heri* masculine or neuter. Also in the various High German dialects differences of gender

1 The gender of *lust* seems to have fluctuated a good deal in German. Though feminine in Old High German, it was either masculine or feminine in Middle High German and in the older Modern High German. In Upper Germany the masculine was preferred till the seventeenth century. Luther used the masculine in his older writings; in his later works the feminine predominates.

occur. Thus, in the greater part of Upper Germany and in the literary language, *Bach* is masculine, but in Middle and North Germany *die Bach* was used till the beginning of last century. *Fenster* (O.H.G. *venstar*) was, in spite of its derivation from *fenestra*, neuter in all periods of the High German language, but it remained feminine in the Middle Franconian dialect.

Likewise, if we compare Old, Middle, and Modern High German with one another, we find frequent changes of gender. The feminine especially has received numerous additions in Modern German, as, with the exception of the weak masculines, designating persons and animals, and of a few neuter collectives, nearly all nouns ending in *-e* have become feminine, whatever their original gender was.

In many cases there existed two forms of the noun in Old High German, one masculine, mostly ending in *-o*, and a feminine form in *-a*. In Middle High German both forms coincided, for *-o* as well as *-a* became *-e*, but most of these nouns had a double gender. In Modern German they have become feminine. Thus we have

O.H.G.		M.H.G.	Modern German.
bluomo, m.	*bluoma*, f.	*bluome*, m. f.	*die Blume*
karro, m.	*karra*, f.	*karre*, m. f.	*die Karre*
ratto, m.	*ratta*, f.	*rat*, m. / *ratte*, f.	*die Ratte*
rëbo, m.	*rëba*, f.	*rëbe*, m. f.	*die Rebe*
seito, m.	*seita*, f.	*seite*, m. f.	*die Saite*
snëpfo, m.	*snëpfa*, f.	*snëpfe*, m.	*die Schnepfe*
trûbo, m.	*trûba*, f.	*trûbe*, m. f.	*die Traube*
distil, m.	*distila*, f.	*distel*, m. f.	*die Distel*
phuzzi, m.	*phuzza*, f.	*pfüzze*, (mostly) f.	*die Pfütze*

Similarly we have

rippi, n.	*rippa*, f.	*rippe*, u. f.	*die Rippe*
wolkan, n.	*wolka*, f.	*wolken*, n. / *wolke*, f.	*die Wolke*

Beside the feminine *sunna*, *die Sonne*, a masculine form *sunno* sometimes occurred.

In other cases the gender of a noun fluctuated in Old or Middle High German, though there was only one form, whilst in Modern German the noun is feminine. Thus we have

O.H.G.	M.H.G.	Modern German.
art, m. f.	*art*, m. f.	*die Art*
banch, m. f.	*banc*, m. f.	*die Bank*
fluot, m.	*vluot*, m. f.	*die Flut*
giwalt, m. f.	*gewalt*, m. f.	*die Gewalt*
list, m. (f. in M.G.)	*list*, m. (f.)	*die List*
luft, m. f.	*luft*, m. f.	*die Luft*
praht, m. f.	*praht*, m. f.	*die Pracht*
slango, m.	*slange*, m. f.	*die Schlange*
tenni, n.	*tenne*, n. f. m.	*die Tenne*
wetti, n.	*wette*, n. f.	*die Wette*

In some cases the plural form in *-e* has become in Modern German a feminine noun. Thus we have *die Binse* from O.H.G. *binuz*, M.H.G. *binez*, *binz*. In like manner are formed *die Gräte*, *die Locke*, *die Schläfe*, *die Zähre*. Two such formations occurred already in Middle High German *diu trêne* (*die Thräne*), plural of *der trahen*, and *diu tücke*, plural of *der tuc*. *Die Ähre* and *die Beere* are similarly formed from the plurals of *eher* (O.H.G. *ahir*) and of *ber* (O.H.G. *beri*).

Other nouns have simply become feminine because they end in *-e*, though they were masculine or neuter in the older language. Thus *Borte*, *Grille*, *Heuschrecke*, *Esche*, *Fahne*, *Hirse*, *Kohle*, *Niere*, *Schnecke*, *Sitte*, *Wade*, *Waise*, *Woge*[1] (O.H.G. *wâg*) are now feminine, but were formerly masculine; *die Waffe* (O.H.G. *wâfan*, M.H.G. *wâfen*), *die Wange*, *die Lücke* were neuter. Of feminines not ending in *-e*, *die furt* was formerly masculine; *die heimat* is now feminine, but O.H.G. *heimôti* was neuter, M.H.G. *heimote*, *heimôt* was n. or f., O.H.G. *aramuoti* was feminine like Modern *Armut*, but in M.H.G. there were two forms, *armuote* n. and *armuot* f.

Changes from neuter to masculine are not frequent. *Abgott*, *Adel*, *Honig*, *Saft*, *Speer* are now masculine, whilst the O.H.G. *abgot*, *adal*, *honag* or *honang*, *saf*, *spër* were neuter. Of these nouns *adel* was masculine or neuter in M.H.G. An old masculine which has become neuter is *gataro*, now *das Gatter*. M.H.G. *gater* had either gender.

The neuter gender gained in Modern German an increase by the compounds with *ge*; many of these became neuter after the analogy of the collectives formed with that prefix. Thus in O.H.G. *gilubida*, *gisiht*, *gispanst*, *giwizzani* were feminine; now we say *das Gelübde*, *das Gesicht*, *das Gespenst*, *das Gewissen*. In M.H.G. *gespenste* was neuter, *gespanst* feminine, *gewizzen* neuter or feminine, *gelübede* and *gesiht* feminine.

Amongst nouns which are now masculine or neuter, but which were feminine in the older language, may be mentioned *der Blutigel*, *der Thon*, *der* (*das*) *Ungestüm*, *das Gift*. The change of gender in the first of these nouns (O.H.G. *ëgala* is feminine) is probably due to confusion with *Igel*. *Thon* was formed from the weak feminine *dâhe* (O.H.G. *dâha*) in the same way as *garten*, *balken*, etc., from the weak masculines *garte*, *balke*, O.H.G. *garto*, *balko*. *Das Buch* is now always neuter; though O.H.G. *buoh* was neuter in the singular, the feminine gender predominated in the plural.

Nouns introduced from foreign languages, for the most part, preserved their original gender, yet the exceptions are numerous. In some cases the change of gender was caused by the resemblance of a German termination to that of the foreign word. For example, many Latin neuters in *-arium*, *-erium*, *-are*, *-er* became in German masculine after the analogy of the masculine nomina agentis in *âri* (*ari*), M.H.G. *-aere*, *-er*, Modern German *-er*. Thus O.H.G. *altare*, *wîwâri*, M.H.G. *altaere* (*alter*), *wîwaere* (*wîwer*), modern *Altar*, *Weiher*, are masculine, whilst Latin *altare*, *vivarium* were neuter. Similarly we have *der Becher* (*bicarium*), *der Keller* (*cellarium*), *der Speicher* (*spicarium*), *der Trichter* (*trajectorium*), Latin *fructus* became in O.H.G. *fruht*, which, like many old *u*-stems, was declined after the *i*-declension, and became feminine after the analogy of *fluht*, *suht*, etc. The gender of *die Pacht* (M.H.G. *diu pacht*), from Latin *pactum*, was probably also due to the influence of feminine nouns derived from verbs with the suffix *-t*, such as *Tracht*, *Schlacht*, etc. The same may be said of the gender of *die Schrift* if it is derived from Latin *scriptum*. Loan words ending in *-e*, especially if dissyllabic, became generally feminine like original German words in *-e*. Thus we have *die Bronze* (*le bronze*), *die Maske* (*le masque*), *die Rolle* (*le rôle*) *die Skizze* (It. *schizzo*), *die Karrosse* (*le carrosse*), etc.; this accounts probably also for the gender of the nouns in *-age*, as *die Etage*, *die Equipage*, etc. In some cases the final *-e* seems originally to be due to the form of the plural, as it is in some German nouns, *e.g.*

[1] Woge is perhaps formed from plural.

Säule, Schürze, and in French feminines like *la joie, la voile,* etc. This seems especially to be the case with names of fruits and plants as *die Birne* (*pira* plural of *pirum*), *die Kirsche* (*cerasum*), *die Lilie* (*lilium*), *die Pflaume* (*prunum*) and others. Likewise *die Meile* (*milia*), *die Matratze* (*matratium*) *Latwerge* (*electuarium*). We may also mention nouns like *die Praemie, die Studie.*

On the other hand, foreign feminines, especially those derived from French, which in German lose their final *e*, become generally masculine or neuter,[1] thus we have *das Rapier* (*la rapière*), *das Revier* (*la rivière*), *das Visir* (*la visière*), after the analogy of words like *das Quartier* (*le quartier*). *Die Manier* remained feminine, probably owing to the influence of *die Sitte.* Other nouns which have become masculine or neuter after dropping their final *-e* are :—*das Abenteuer* (M.H.G. *aventiure*, f., *une aventure*), *das Bajonett* (*la baïonnette*), *das Dutzend* (*la douzaine*), *das Kamisol* (*la camisole*), *der Marsch* (*la marche*), *der Salat* (Latin *salata*, f.), *der Salbei* (M.H.G. *salbeie*, f., from Latin *salvia*).

Loan words ending in *-el* (O.H.G. *-al* or *-il*), and in a less degree those ending in *-er* (O.H.G. *-ar*), *-en, -ig*, seem to have a tendency to become masculine. Thus the following nouns are masculine, *Fenchel* (O.H.G. *fënahhal* from Latin *foeniculum*), *Flegel* (O.H.G. *flegil* from Latin *flagellum*), *Kerbel* (O.H.G. *kërvola*, f., M.H.G. *kërvele* or *kervel*, f. or m., from Latin *caerifolium*), *Makel* (Latin *macula*), *Mantel* (O.H.G. *mantal* from *mantellum*), *Spiegel* (O.H.G. *spiagal* from *speculum*), *Tempel* (O.H.G. *tëmpal* from *templum*), *Zettel* (*schedula*), *Ziegel* (O.H.G. *ziagal* from *tegula*), *Körper* (Latin *corpus*), *Kadaver* (Latin *cadaver*, n.), *Pfeffer* (Latin *piper*, n.), *Puder* (*la poudre*), *Degen* (*la dague*), *Segen* (*signum*), *Käfig* (O.H.G. *chevia* f., M.H.G. *kevje*, m., f. n., from *cavea*), etc.

Latin feminines in *-us* or Greek *-os* are in German masculine like the other nouns with that termination, thus *Dom* (*domus*), *Porticus, Apostroph, Diphthong* and others are masculine. *Bastion* (*le bastion*) is feminine, like most French nouns ending in *-ion.* Abstract nouns in *-at* (Latin *-atus*) are neuter, *das Coelibat, das Concordat*, etc. In a few cases a loan word has changed its gender under the influence of a German word having a similar meaning, but it seems to me that too much weight is often attached to this cause, and that the cases are not so numerous as is generally believed. The most probable cases are *die Mauer* (after *die Wand*) from *murus*, and *die Nummer* (after *die Zahl*) from *numerus.*

ALBERT CERF.

[1] As French has no neuter, words derived from French masculines have become in German either masculine or neuter. Those introduced at a later time are mostly neuter unless designating persons.

REVIEWS

Studies in Dante. Second Series. Miscellaneous Essays. By EDWARD MOORE, D.D. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 1899. Pp. xvi+386. 10s. 6d. net.

The essays contained in this volume are seven in number, the subjects dealt with being as follows:—Dante as a religious teacher, especially in relation to catholic doctrine; Beatrice; the classification of sins in the *Inferno* and *Purgatorio*; Dante's personal attitude towards different kinds of sin; unity and symmetry of design in the *Purgatorio*; Dante and Sicily; and the genuineness of the *Quaestio de Aqua et Terra.* As this list indicates, Dr. Moore in his second series covers a wide range of ground. Certain of the essays, such as those on Dante as a religious teacher, and on Dante and Sicily, are of a more or less popular character. That on Beatrice, which is, of course, concerned with the much-discussed question as to her reality and identity, contains a careful restatement of the case from the point of view of each of the three classes of disputants, viz. symbolists, idealists, and realists. Dr. Moore, as is well known, is an ardent upholder of the realist theory, viz. that Dante's Beatrice was, as Boccaccio and Dante's own son Pietro maintained, Beatrice Portinari of Florence, the daughter of Folco Portinari (the date of whose death corresponds exactly with that of Beatrice's father as described in the *Vita Nuova*), and the wife of Simone de' Bardi. That Beatrice was not a mere abstraction we hold to be conclusively proved by the fact that Dante assigns her a place in Paradise as a human soul among other human souls, to say nothing of the references to her as an actual being by Cino da Pistoia. There are several other strong arguments in support of this view, the most convincing of which is Dante's elaborate reference (in the account of Beatrice's death in the *Vita Nuova*) to no less than three different calendars for the date of her death, viz. the Arabian (for the day), the Syrian (for the month), and the Italian (for the year). Dr. Moore was the first, we believe, to point out that from the *data* thus supplied by Dante it almost certainly follows that Beatrice died on the evening of June 8, 1290 (not on June 9, as is usually held). The three separate calendars are appealed to in order to bring in the mystic number *nine* in connection with the day, month, and year of her death. As Dr. Moore very justly urges, unless Beatrice actually died on June 8, and Dante was thus hampered by a real fact, why should he have chosen such an awkward date, involving all this elaborate calculation to make it fit his preconceived theory? If Beatrice were a creature of his imagination, why should he not have assigned November 9 as the date of her death, and thus have secured the ninth day of the ninth month without any further trouble? That Beatrice was Beatrice Portinari is not, of course, capable of actual proof, but it is hard to see why the explicit statements of Boccaccio and of Pietro di Dante should be dismissed as unworthy of credence, especially as there appears to be no adequate motive for their selection of Folco Portinari's daughter unless she actually was the Beatrice in question.

The most important of the other essays, and indeed by far the most important essay in the volume, is that on the genuineness of the *Quaestio de Aqua et Terra.* We have here for the first time a thoroughly exhaustive critical examination of the treatise, both the external and internal evidence for and against its authenticity being weighed by Dr. Moore with great skill, and, we may add, with complete impartiality. It would require more space than we can afford to follow Dr. Moore's arguments in detail. Suffice it to say that in our view he has completely succeeded in disposing of the various objections (both internal and external) advanced by those who hold the treatise to be a forgery, and further he has made out from internal evidence such a strong case in favour of its genuineness as we hope may ultimately convince even the most sceptical of his opponents —even Dr. Scartazzini, for instance, who *more suo* goes the length of declaring that 'to accept the *Quaestio* as the work of Dante would mean the acceptance of a miracle, and in miracles no one believes nowadays, except women and children and idiots!' At any rate Dr. Moore has now reopened the whole question, and

it remains for the sceptics (among whom are some of the ablest continental Dantists) to accept his challenge and demolish his position—if they can.

We need only mention in conclusion that Dr. Moore's second volume, like his first (of which it is wholly independent), is provided with a full index, which greatly increases its value to the student.

PAGET TOYNBEE.

DORNEY WOOD,
BURNHAM, BUCKS.

Scottish Vernacular Literature. A Succinct History by T. F. HENDERSON. London. David Nutt. 6s. pp. viii+462.

Of making many literary handbooks there seems to be no end; but Mr. Henderson's *Scottish Vernacular Literature* justifies its existence to a degree that few of the more recent handbooks do. In the first place, it occupies new ground, for no writer has until now surveyed the whole field, and Dr. Ross alone has dealt adequately with the history to the time of the Reformation; in the second place, it is a scholarly piece of work, and adds considerably to our knowledge as well as to our means of appreciation.

The arrangement and general scheme of the book are admirable, and show Mr. Henderson's critical insight into literary evolution; the execution is likewise good, though failing to some extent by giving too great a prominence to matters of contention, many of which are somewhat academic, and thus curtailing the space that in a handbook could with greater advantage have been given to revealing the spirit of the wonderful material with which Mr. Henderson has to deal.

The first five chapters are concerned with the period before Dunbar: they are the weakest in a strong book. There is, for instance, in the first chapter a lack of clearness, due to Mr. Henderson's failing to distinguish between Angles and Saxons, and generally the account of the vernacular language is meagre and insufficient.

The treatment of Minstrelsy and Romance in the second chapter is not at all inspiriting, as it might easily have been, and we come away from it with a very poor knowledge of 'Sir Tristrem.' Our enthusiasm is kindled by Mr. Henderson's treatment of Barbour's 'Bruce' (chap. iii), but never glows, as it might, had a little more about the work of the poet of Bannockburn been added. Mr. Henderson tells us 'in truth Bannockburn, as described by Barbour, has done more to perpetuate the sentiment of Scottish nationality than ever Bannockburn as fought and won by Bruce,' but he fails to make us feel this. He might, without greatly adding to the length of the chapter, have given us some evidence of this as well as of the many other interesting points he has been the first to emphasise. Barbour deserves well at the historian's hands when we remember that he is 'the main poetic progenitor of Sir Walter Scott.' Scott 'kindled at his flame'; indeed, without Barbour's flame to kindle at, he might never have written his poetic romances, and he would certainly not have written them as we now have them.

The chapter (v) on the Early Chancerians is opened with the controversy as to the authorship of the *Kingis Quair*, a matter which ought to be quite secondary to a critical exposition and appreciation of the qualities of the Scottish 'classic example of the love allegory.'

The appreciation of the poem is subordinated to the solution of the problem of authorship. A handbook, which ought to serve mainly as an introduction, is not the proper place for the adequate treatment of such a problem. Mr. Henderson's summary of Mr. Brown's extremely able inquiry into the authorship of the poem hardly does it justice, and his grounds for identifying the *Peblis to the Play* with the *At Beltayne*, and for attributing that and *Christ's Kirk on the Green* to James I., are far from convincing.

The treatment of Henrysoun, which brings this fifth chapter to a conclusion, is on the other hand most satisfactory: the criticism of the delicate but shrewdly wise humour of the Fables is sufficient to vindicate them from the charges of dulness and prolixity, and Mr. Henderson deals with the whole matter most daintily. He brings out, besides, Henrysoun's love of Nature, his keen sympathy with the animal creation, and his delight in the sights and sounds of Nature.

The next four chapters (vi-ix) take us from Dunbar to the end of the sixteenth century, and give us of Mr. Henderson's best.

The study of Dunbar is as thorough as it is brilliant: starting with the general view of the self-revealing nature of Dunbar's poetry, we are shown his 'reality' in matter and in form (the independence of which is ably kept before us throughout the book), his mastery of expression, whether in such excessively allegorical poems as *The Goldyn Targe* and *The Thrissil and the Rois*, or in the terse directness of his satires, his firm hold on human nature in its weakness and in its strength, and the poetic vigour with which he touches its 'mischances, griefs, uncertainties, and vanity.'

The powers of Dunbar as a metrist are set forth by Mr. Henderson for the first time at all fully by an English writer: the discovery of them is due to Professor Schipper. The works of Douglas and Lyndsay afforded less attractive material from many points of view, but Mr. Henderson is not less successful, and perhaps no part of his book shows the moderation and restraint of his criticism better. A good deal more might have been made of the light that Lyndsay throws on contemporary customs and manners, and the imperfections of Lyndsay's metres are too readily assumed.

In the chapter (x) on the *Vernacular Prose* excellent use is made of the scanty materials, the summary of John Knox being especially noteworthy.

The following is worth quoting:—'His ideal, no doubt, differed somewhat from the reality which was so soon to become an intolerable tyranny; but even his idea was but a one-sided solution of the great problem of human life and conduct, for, man of genius though he was, he was by intellectual training the mere product of mediævalism.'

In the account of Bishop John Leslie, there is a bad slip; he was bishop of Coutances and not of Constance. There is the same sort of mistake in treatment in the chapter on 'Traditional Ballads and Songs' as in that on James I. The foundation of Mr. Henderson's treatment is made up of the theories of the schoolmen, and what we learn of the Ballads and Songs depends on those theories. Mr. Andrew Lang's theory that the ballads are folk-literature and not minstrel-literature is hardly sufficiently stated and handled: Mr. Henderson, however adds a good deal to the opposing theory that the ballads, as we know them, are derived from romances. He ably connects the ballad of 'Sir Patrick Spens' with the voyage of James VI. in 1589 to Denmark to bring home a bride, and suggests that 'Spens' is a modification of 'Vans,' for to 'Sir Patrick Vans' were intrusted the negotiations of the marriage and also the arrangements for the reception of the Queen.

The remainder of the book, dealing with the history from Allan Ramsay to Burns, is very properly brief, but it is uncommonly able.

The work of Ramsay as a revivalist and as an original creator is well set out, and many common errors set right. We take two examples:—

(1) 'From the mere fact that the Scottish vernacular is now the language of the common people, a vague impression prevails that the vernacular poetry has some special connection with the mere peasantry; but though latterly this was partly the case, the old poetry, on which the later vernacular poetry is almost entirely modelled, was rather the creation of the aristocracy and the clergy.'

(2) 'But the old race of poet-ecclesiastics having become extinct at the Reformation, it was mainly among the aristocracy and gentry that the traditions of the old vernacular poetry could linger; and although, with the accession of James VI. to the English throne there was a tendency among the Scottish courtier poets to cultivate exclusively English poetry, many of the gentry retained an acquaintanceship with the poetry of the older "makaris." They were not so much as the other

classes under the domination of Puritanism; and thus the poetry of the vernacular revival, up to the time of Ramsay, owes its existence mainly to them.'

In the account of the predecessors of Burns, it is curious to find Hamiltou of Baugour dismissed in a single scntence: he receives less attention than David Mallet, to whom he was immeasurably superior both in the actual merit of his production and in his influence.

Mr. Henderson's estimate of Burns adds nothing, as far as I can remember, to that to be found in the Centenary Edition in which he collaborated so effectively with Mr. Henley: it is, nevertheless, a well-executed piece of work.

Altogether the book is to be heartily welcomed: its merits are far more important than its weaknesses. A second edition should be provided with a Bibliography: the bibliographical notes are scattered through the book at present and are not at all complete; there are also several mistakes in the marginal glosses that could be easily rectified.

T. G. F.

Polnische Grammatik von Dr. Asmus Soerensen. Erste Hälfte. Leipzig. F. Haberland.

Now that the excellent Polish grammar of Professor Smith of Copenhageu is out of print (*Grammatik der Polnischen Sprache*, etc., Berlin, 1845) there is a great want of a scientific grammar for foreigners of that interesting language. For those who are ahle to read Polish the ground is already fully occupied. There is the large grammar of Professor Malecki (*Gramatyka Historyczno-Porownawcza Jezyka Polskiego*, 2 vols., Lemberg, 1879) and a shorter one by the same author used in Polish schools (*Gramatyka Szkolna*, Lemberg, 1891). This is a very handy work. That of Mr. Krynski of Warsaw must be mentioned with the highest praise (Warsaw, 1897). It is an historical grammar in the fullest sense of the word, and gives a succiuct accouut of the origiu of Polish forms.

These works, however, as has been said before, are in Polish, and can only be used by a person who has made some cousiderable progress in the language. That of Rykaczewski (*Grammaire de la Langue Polonaise*, Paris, 1861) cannot be justly recommended, although the syntax is carefully elaborated, much of the work beiug very unscientific; for iustance, the confused account of the forms which the past teuse takes iu Polish, especially in its fusion with the present tense of the verb 'to be.' We arc iudeed surprised to see Dr. Soerensen in the early part of his work citing it as an authority.

The present work is admirably adapted to supply the wants of the scholar who intends to attack this difficult but highly interesting language. We have here the first half containing the *Lautlehre*, the *Formenlehre*, and the Syntax.

Probably few languages exhibit a more complicated phonetic system than the Polish. Dr. Soerensen well remarks on p. 17:—*So kompliziert das polnische Lautsystem und so fremdartig die Lautbezeichnung auch erscheinen mag, so einfach und folgerichtig sind doch im Grunde die Gesetze welche dieselben beherrschen.* The author explains many of these complications by the old Slavonic: indeed, without knowing something of this language it is impossible to understand the modern Slavonic languages. In pp. 37-49 the masculine noun is discussed, which exhibits many irregularities, especially in the nominative plural. On p. 49 Dr. Soerensen calls attention to the phenomena of the collective plurals, found also in Russian; and in Serbian developed into a complete system; thus a masculine noun takes a collective feminine plural (cf. Latin *locus*, *loca*). The feminine and neuter are discussed, pp. 49-61; the collectives are then treated of, and some of the remains of the dual, which are still found, as *rece*, the two hands; instrumental *rekoma*. The same thing is found in the Russian *ochi* and *ushi*. On p. 70 the pronoun is discussed, the use of *pan* and *pani* in addressing persons (*die höfliche Anredeform*). The whole of this section is very clear: one of the last things meutioned (p. 87) is the curious use of *zaden* in negations, which is also found in Czech. In pp. 88-102 the adjective is fully treated, which is followed by a discussion of the degrees of comparison. The numerals in Polish are exceedingly difficult (pp. 110-124): they are in Slavonic iu a much earlier stage than in the other European languages, many of them exhibiting the forms of nouns (see ou p. 128 Dr. Soerensen's treatment of *piec* and other similar numerals). Ou p. 123 is explained such a curious expression as *wielu* in the nominative, e.g. *wielu jest teraz ubogich*, there are many poor now. This has always seemed to us one of the greatest anomalies of the Polish language.

The prepositions (pp. 125-159) are treated with much minuteness, aud their use is illnstrated by many examples. The prepositions iu Polish, as indeed in all the Slavonic languages, exhibit the greatest difficulties. In the richness and variety of their use, both in and out of composition, they can only be compared with the Greek. They are also used with the same logical precision, so that in this respect also the Slavonic languages resemble Greek insomuch as they are both synthetic and analytic. Although they have seven cases, and are highly inflected, they yet employ prepositions in the most subtle manner.

The verb, however, is the great *crux* of the Slavonic language, and here too Dr. Soerensen is quite equal to the occasion. The interesting features of this part of speech are the perfective and imperfective verbs aud the aspects. These, far from being found only in the Slavonic languages, are really the origiual forms of the Aryan verb. The student should read on this subject the last volume of the great comparative grammar of Miklosich. The preseut tense is only found in imperfective verbs; the future is made either (1) by taking the present tense of the perfective verb, or (2) by using the auxiliary *bede* with the infinitive of the imperfective verb, or (3) with the 2nd past participle, which has now become the ordiuary form of the past tense in Polish (see Soereusen, 164); the imperfect and aorist beiug lost. The apparent poverty of the tenses is made up by the aspects. It may be here stated that an imperfective aspect implies that the action of the verb has not been aud never will be completed, whereas a perfective verb argues that it has been completed or will be completed at some *definite* future time. The past tense (Soerensen, 166) is made out of the past participle in *—l*, to which portions of the present tense of the substantive verb are added in a mutilated form. These particles can be taken off the verb and put with pronouns or conjunctions, as *bom kupil*, for I bought it, which might also be *bo kupilem* (Soerenseu, 109) or *mysmy pytali*, we iuquired. On p. 171 the learned author takes exception to the division of Miklosich of the verb into six classes, which has so long held its grouud. He says it is adopted *nach einem äusserlichen und einseitigen Einteilungsprinzip*. Dr. Soerensen divides the coujugations iuto four groups. He objects to the two different stems—infinitive and present. M. Paul Boyet in his excellent treatise, *De l'accentuation du verbe russe*, Paris, 1895, also only makes four classes of verbs, but it wonld be impossible in a short article like the present to discuss the matter thoroughly. The important point is to ascertain, according to their conjugations, which are the perfective and which the imperfective verbs. And here the great importance of the prepositions in the Slavonic languages in the composition of verbs is manifest. Dr. Soerensen does not fail to do justice to these, some of which are exceedingly interesting; thus, let us take such a form in Polish as *naplakac sie* (p. 192), to satiate oneself with weeping. We get in Russian such expressions as *nachitat* and *dochitat*. The first means to satiate oneself with reading; the second, to read a thing to the end.

Professor Smith of Copenhagen, whose excellent grammar has been previously alluded to, arranges some Greek verbs on the Slavonic system, and thus we see that according to the theory of the aspects the first and second aorists in Greek wonld belong to different aspects. In Latin there are forms which frequently remind the student of the Slavonic verb where a tense is supplied by a compounded form as *cumbo*, *concubui*.

Wherever he discusses obsolete and irregular forms, Dr. Soerensen shows great power of illustration. In fact his Polish grammar will be a useful book for the student of Aryan philology in general. On p. 211 we have the analysis of the verb *isc*, to go, with its present *ide*, and its past *szedlem*. To the first of these we find analogies in Serbian, cf. *znade*, cf. also Russian *budu*. The *m* and *n* stems (p. 212) are full of interest on account of the nasal which is suppressed in the Russian in the infinitive but comes up in the present tense in *m* or *n*. The verbs with a nasal in the infinitive like *nac* are grouped by Miklosich in the second class; they are represented by *nut* in Russian. A large proportion of these are perfective. On p. 251 we have the interesting remains of an older conjugational system, which Miklosich classed as verbs where the present stem had no characteristic vowel. Dr. Soerensen merely says: *Als Endung der 1 sing, hat sich altes organisches* m *erhalten*. The Polish 1st plural *damy* retains nothing of the reduplication which Russian has preserved, *e.g. dadine*, which is also partly found in O.S. (see Leskien), and seems to be the only piece of reduplicatiou left in the Slavonic languages.

We are afraid that we have already tired our readers too much with minutiæ in discussing this excellent grammar, which seems to bring the intricacies of the Polish language within the reach of many who would otherwise not have been able to study it. As regards the language itself, it is a noble one, and the brilliant novelist Sienkiewicz was probably right when, in an eloquent speech which he recently made on the unveiling of the bust of the poet Slowacki, he spoke of it as 'indestructible as brass; one of the most magnificent in the world, so magnificent, beautiful, and harmonious that only the language of the ancient Greeks can compare with it.'

WILLIAM RICHARD MORFILL.

Goethe in England and America. A bibliography, reprinted from *Die Neueren Sprachen*. D. Nutt. 1899. [Publications of the English Goethe Society, No. viii.]

This bibliographical list of fifty closely printed pages is a most useful publication, and will, no doubt, be hailed with delight by all students of Goethe in this country and abroad. For the compilation of it we owe Dr. Oswald a great debt of gratitude. The pamphlet takes rank at once as the standard list to refer to, being in its limited department more complete than either the catalogue of the works by and on Goethe in the British Museum, which was issued in 1888 to the members of the English Goethe Society, or the similar list, by John P. Anderson, which is printed at the end of J. Sime's *Goethe* in the 'Great Writers' series (London: Walter Scott). It is also, of course, much more complete than the bibliographical references in M. Koch's valuable article on Goethe in the fourth volume of the new edition of Goedeke's *Grundrisz* (1891).

A list such as the present could only be compiled in London by a man who had constantly at his disposal the treasures of the British Museum, and at the same time the knowledge and devotion to Goethe possessed by the Secretary of the English Goethe Society.

No doubt a few omissions could even now be pointed out in the list, and it is to be hoped that ere long a number of valuable works by English and American scholars will have to be added; yet I believe that for many years to come Dr. Oswald's list will be *the* book on the subject, and will be found in the hands of all true lovers of Goethe's life and art.

There is one wish which in looking at the slim green pamphlet before me I cannot refrain from expressing, and by the fulfilment of which, either directly or indirectly, Dr. Oswald would lay students of German literature under another great obligation. The English Goethe Society has of late years deliberately enlarged the scope of its activity beyond the study of the life and writings of the *Altmeister* of Weimar himself. Would it not, then, be possible to bring out for the members of the Society and for the benefit of students of modern German literature in general, in not too distant a future, another list, giving similar information about some of Goethe's greatest contemporaries, such as his friends Herder, Wieland, and Schiller, and Klopstock and Lessing, whom he so sincerely admired? If the active Secretary of the Goethe Society should himself be prevented, by pressure of other work, from undertaking so useful a task, would he not be able to find among the London students of German literature one who, guided by his advice and experience, and fired by his enthusiasm, would produce a companion volume to the capital list now before us, on the compilation of which Dr. Oswald may be heartily congratulated?

KARL BREUL.

Special Reports on Intermediate Education in Wales, and on the Organisation of Education in Switzerland. Eyre & Spottiswoode.

It is an excellent idea of the Director of Educational Reports to issue sectional reprints from his large volumes of 'Special Reports.' In this sectional reprint on the Educational Systems of Wales and Switzerland there is to be found probably the very best concise accounts of those two systems yet written. It is to be hoped that this new departure of issuing cheap separate documents (this Report is published at the curious price of one shilling and a penny) will meet with the warm response which it so richly deserves. There is a full account of the Welsh Intermediate Education Act, 1889, both of its origin and of its working. The educational movements prior to 1880 are summarised, and the wonderful story of the Welsh Circulating Schools, and the significant results of the working of the Welsh Sunday-schools, are adequately referred to. Goverument inquiries into Welsh education are epitomised. Particularly valuable is the account which is given of the working of the Act of 1889, since it has been brought into effect in the years 1894-98. It will be noted that the total number of schools under the County Schemes is 96, of which 17 are old schools and 79 new. The number of scholars is, of boys, 3679; of girls, 3198—total, 6877. This number represents 3·49 per 1000 of the estimated population. The most remarkable increase, of course, is in the case of the girls. In 1880 the total number of girls in Endowed Secondary Schools was 263, and as just stated, in schools under the County Schemes there are now 3198. It should perhaps be said, in way of criticism, that the writer of the Report does not point out that there must have been a great loss of pupils in some of the private girls' schools to bring this about. Still the increase is great, and no doubt means that a considerable percentage of girls are now receiving secondary education who would have been without it, under the old system.

Without entering into a detailed account of the Report, it will be sufficient to draw attention to the signal importance of a study of the working of the Intermediate Education Act of Wales in view of the Board of Education Act, 1899, for England. The Welsh system is an admirable instance of that experiment over a portion of the country, which the late Professor Jevons so ardently recommended as a sound principle for the politician before he committed the nation to a universal scheme. The statistics which are prepared in this Report must strike every one who reads it as a marvel of educational progress—as far as the *extension* of educational facilities are concerned. All educationists will be delighted to see that the Central Board has interested itself in the promotion of educational conferences in which teachers and laymen (governors, members of the County and Central Board) have met and discussed arrangements and methods—(i) for Manual Training; (ii) Teaching of Modern Languages.

The question of work 'from within' the schools is clearly the most important and most pressing—and we look for developments in the attitude of the Central Board of consultations of the teachers in the schools. One other point deserves mention—*viz.* that not only is the cause of Intermediate Education thus progressing in Wales, but this progress will occasion, indirectly, the raising of the aims and methods of the elementary schools, excellent as they may be, in many cases, at present.

With regard to the Report by Mr. R. L. Morant on the National Education of Switzerland, it is simply admirable in its comprehensiveness combined with conciseness. It ought to be widely read.

F. W.

CORRESPONDENCE

MR. F. E. SANDBACH ON MANDEVILLE—A PROTEST.

To the Editor of 'The Modern Language Quarterly.'

Sir,—The last number of the *Modern Quarterly of Language and Literature* contains a paper by Mr. F. E. Sandbach on 'Otto von Diemeringen's German translation of Mandeville's Travels.' The first section of this paper is headed, 'Results of Research in connection with Mandeville and his Travels.' Any reader not acquainted with the literature of the subject would naturally suppose that this section was the 'result of research' on the part of the writer of the paper. If the section is meant to be a summary of the results of research on the part of previous writers, it is, to say the least of it, misleading to omit all mention of those to whom these results are due.

We are told, for instance, that 'the first point to be decided is the language in which Mandeville wrote,' the conclusion—for anything that appears to the contrary, the writer's own—being that 'the balance of probability would be in favour of French as the original language.' This question was thrashed out long ago by Mr. E. W. B. Nicholson and Mr. G. F. Warner. Not a single reference, however, is given by Mr. Sandbach to the exhaustive articles on Mandeville by these two writers, which appeared respectively in the ninth edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*,[1] and in the *Dictionary of National Biography*;[2] nor to Mr. Warner's elaborate edition of the French text, printed for the Roxburgh Club in 1889.

Again, Mr. Sandbach says: 'As might be expected, later writers have plagiarised Mandeville. An interesting example of this is found in the *Chemin de Long Estude* of Christine de Pisan, written in 1402, in which she even sees and visits places which Mandeville himself expressly states to be beyond the reach of mortals.'

This 'plagiarism' from Mandeville by Christine de Pisan was a discovery of my own, and was dealt with at length in an article which I contributed to *Romania* seven or eight years ago.[3] Yet no mention is made by Mr. Sandbach of this article of mine, which is duly noticed by Mr. Warner in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

Omission to acknowledge the labours of previous workers in the same field, whether accidental or deliberate, is regrettable on every ground; and I think, in the interests of scholarship, the present instance ought not to be allowed to pass without a protest.

I am, Sir, etc.,

Paget Toynbee.

Dorney Wood,
Burnham, Bucks. *June* 3, 1900.

[1] This article was written in conjunction with the late Colonel Henry Yule, the learned editor of Marco Polo.
[2] Vol. xxvi. (1893). Art. *Mandeville, Sir John.*
[3] *Romania*, xxi. 228-239.

PRE-MALOREAN ROMANCES.

To the Editor of 'The Modern Language Quarterly.'

Sir,—May I be allowed a few more words on the question I raised in your last issue, as to the connection between Launcelot and Tristram? The idea of their identity was first suggested to me some years back by my friend Mr. R. B. McKerrow, to whom I am indebted for the substance of my article. I was unable at the time to find any evidence of the theory having been suggested by any other student, but I now gather from a remark in Miss Weston's *King Arthur and his Knight*, published in Mr. Nutt's *Popular Studies in Mythology, Romance, and Folklore*, that it was not new. I should be very much obliged if Miss Weston or any other student of Arthurian legend could tell me where the question has been discussed. In the meantime I have received a letter from Mr. McKerrow, who is in Japan, in which he points out some further parallels. In the first place he mentions, as a general consideration, Malory's unwillingness to contrast Launcelot and Tristram: 'At tournaments they both get prizes, they together are named as the best knights, just as Ysonld is said to be the fairest except Gninevere.' Secondly, as regards matters of detail: 'The first person who betrayed Tristram to the king was the *seneschal* (cf. Bartsch, *Chrest de l'ancien Fr.* p. 103); now in the *High History of the Holy Graal* (*Temple Classics*, vol. ii. p. 191) it is Briant the seneschal who accuses Launcelot to Arthur.' Again, 'In Malory (*Temple Classics*, vol. iv. p. 216) Launcelot and the queen exchange rings'; cf. the passage where Tristram says, 'Then you gave me your ring of pure gold, well made and beautiful; I received it and went away' (Bartsch, p. 109). So again Launcelot and Guinevere go together to Joyous Gard, and thither too, at Launcelot's invitation, Tristram and Isould.

Mr. McKerrow, it will be seen, refers to such books as he happens to have away with him.

I am, Sir, etc.,

Walter Wilson Greg.

Park Lodge,
Victoria Road,
Wimbledon Park, S.W. *May* 10, 1900.

FOREIGN TEACHERS.

To the Editor of 'The Modern Language Quarterly.'

Sir,—I have often regretted that distance and want of time have prevented me from attending the General Meetings of the Modern Language Association, and that I had to content myself with perusing the reports of these meetings. Yet I cannot refrain from stating that I was lately painfully impressed by the animus against foreigners, as teachers, which was shown not only in the presidential address, but also in some of the speeches delivered on that occasion. I belong by no means to those who hold that all teachers of modern languages ought to be foreigners; indeed, I have often wondered at the recklessness and credulity with which

foreigners, about whose education, previous life, etc., nothing is known, are sometimes appointed as teachers in schools. The many incapable foreign teachers in England may have, in a great measure, given rise to the present agitation, but this fact hardly warrants what I might almost call this crusade against foreigners, instituted or supported by the Modern Language Association. It strikes me what is desirable is to have efficient teachers of modern languages, irrespective of nationality. That must be the object of a society containing the most eminent teachers of modern languages in England, both Englishmen and foreigners, though it seems to me (however, this may be an error on my part) that the number of the latter is steadily declining. Nor can I say that the arguments brought forward against the employment of foreigners as teachers seem to me sound and well founded. First it is alleged that foreigners can seldom keep proper discipline. A teacher who cannot maintain discipline in his class is *ipso facto* an inefficient school teacher, whatever his nationality. But I fully believe, after the experience of many years, that the charge that *most* foreigners fail in this respect is far too sweeping. Next comes that elastic phrase which may mean anything or nothing—the foreigner is not in sympathy, is not in touch with his pupils. Does this mean that he cannot understand the difficulty experienced in learning the foreign language, or that, failing to understand the pupil's character, likes and dislikes, etc., he rather irritates him instead of making him feel an interest in his work, and thus leading him on to improve, or that the foreign teacher does not take sufficient interest in his pupil's progress and studies? A foreign teacher who, after some years' experience, should fail in these points, would not be an efficient teacher, but I should be sorry to believe that such a charge can be justly brought against the majority of the better class of foreign teachers. Or does it mean that the foreigner does not feel sufficiently interested in football, cricket, and other athletic pursuits? This may be probably the case, yet I scarcely think that this would be considered a serious defect, even at a time when athletics seem to be pushed so much into the foreground. The same reproach might also be levelled against many of the older English masters, and might justify the much-talked of decision of the Grantham School Board to dismiss masters when they attain a certain age, so that masters would have to retire, say at the age of thirty.

With regard to appreciating the English idiom and its difference from the foreign, I should like to ask two questions. First, which is more essential—a thorough knowledge of the language taught, or of the English idiom? Secondly, is it not likely that the foreign teacher, after a long residence in England, will be better acquainted with the English idiom than the English teacher after a comparatively short sojourn abroad will be with the foreign language?

But what shall I say to the last charge, brought forward against the unhappy foreigner, namely, that his accent deteriorates in consequence of his residence in England and in proportion to it? Even granted that this be the case, though owing to the present facilities for travelling most foreign teachers visit their native land frequently enough to avoid such a falling off, yet I unhesitatingly affirm that the foreigner's accent (if he is an educated man, and I only speak of such) will still be better or, at least, as good as that of his English colleague. Again, would not the latter's pronunciation of the foreign language suffer in a similar manner? Not that I lay so much stress on a perfect accent; I only mention this to show how frivolous some of the charges brought against the foreigner are.

The example of Germany is likewise quoted by the partisans of the crusade, who point out that in that country scarcely any foreigners are employed as teachers in schools. But the principal reason of this is that in Germany previous preparation and training, tested by a State examination, are required. Now, if the same method was adopted in this country, I should hail the innovation with pleasure, even if it tends to prevent the appointment of foreign teachers, or at least greatly diminishes their number. And if our Society, which contains so many influential members, would use its exertions to bring it to pass that teachers not only of modern languages, but all teachers in secondary schools in England and also in Ireland (for poor Ireland is generally left in the cold), should undergo a similar training and pass an examination, it would render a great service to education. Yet I believe, though I speak on that point with some diffidence, that if the German regulations for the admission of teachers were so framed as to allow well-educated and properly trained foreign University men to comply with them, the teaching of modern languages in Germany might be still improved. I know that those people abroad who wish to improve their knowledge in a foreign language, take, in preference, private lessons from a Frenchman, Englishman, etc., and I have no doubt that many of the present English teachers of modern languages in England would make most excellent teachers of English abroad.

In conclusion allow me to repeat that what I have written is for the purpose of rebutting some of the objections raised against the foreign teachers, not to imply that I desire any preference to be given to the latter over the English teacher. All I consider essential is that the teacher be a gentleman, well educated, efficient, and, if possible, a University man.

I am, Sir, etc.,

ALBERT J. W. CERF, M.A., T.C.D.

DUBLIN, 18*th August* 1899.

[Had Mr. Cerf been able to attend meetings of the Modern Language Association he would have recognised that no 'crusade against foreign teachers has been instituted or supported by the Association,' and that its chief aim is to encourage 'efficient teachers of modern languages irrespective of nationality.'—ED.]

GERMAN EXAMINATION.

TO THE EDITOR OF 'THE MODERN LANGUAGE QUARTERLY.'

SIR,—I am sure that many members of the Modern Language Association must have long been conscious of the valuable work which the 'Société nationale des Professeurs de Français en Angleterre' has been doing, by encouraging in our large English schools the oral study of French together with fluent expression in writing the language. I should like to suggest that a similar society should be formed, opening a competitive examination in German to boys and girls. If such a society should be founded, a committee would, of course, be selected to draw up regulations, but perhaps a few suggestions would not be altogether out of place.

I would suggest that the regulations might be modelled, to a great extent, on those already existing in the case of the 'Société nationale des Professeurs de Français,' so that the work of the German society might correspond to that of the French.

Therefore, in accordance with the regulations of the 'Société nationale des Professeurs de Français,' the competition (held annually) would be open to all boys and girls under twenty years of age, who, since the age of twelve, have not studied in any country where German is the native language and whose parents are not German; special regulations being drawn up to meet these two cases. The examination would consist of two parts, the one written, the other oral.

The written examination might consist of:—

(*a*) A passage of German to be translated into English.

(*b*) A passage of English to be translated into German.

(*c*) Two alternative questions on two prepared books.

(*d*) An essay on a given subject.

(*e*) A question on literature concerning one of about eight writers, previously prepared by the candidates. (This question might be optional.)

(*f*) An optional paper on philology.

Questions *b*, *c*, *d*, *e*, *f*, to be answered in German.

Only those candidates, who gained a certain percentage of marks, would be admitted to the oral examination.

The oral examination might consist of:—

(*a*) The translation of a short piece of English into German.

(*b*) German dictation and the reading aloud of a piece of unseen German.

(*c*) A few minutes' conversation in German either on the writers selected for question (*d*) of the written examination or on general topics.

Prizes and certificates would be offered for the successful candidates.

I have suggested an examination modelled almost entirely on the lines of that held by the 'Société nationale des Professeurs de Français,' but I should like to propose one difference, namely, that the examination should be held about the first week in March, and the oral examination about a fortnight later, so that it might interfere in no way with the French examination. I would propose also that a copy of the programme and regulations should be forwarded to every school that already receives information of the French examination, not later than the month of November.

The plan seems to me a feasible one and I hope may be carried into effect, as it is already known how successful it has been in the case of the French Society in giving an impetus to the oral study of modern languages, which it is so important to carry on simultaneously with grammar and translation.

I remain, Sir, etc.

L. A. Lowe,

(*Modern and Mediæval Lang. Tripos, Cambridge.*)

Blackheath High School,
Wemyss Road, S.E.,
December 22, 1899.

BÜRGER'S *LENORE*.

To the Editor of 'The Modern Language Quarterly.'

Dear Sir,—Since the publication of my article on English translations of *Lenore* in your last issue, the MS. of a version which was made by D. G. Rossetti at the age of sixteen has turned up at an auction and been published with an introduction by his brother (Ellis and Elvey, 1900). It is curious that, as in the case of Scott, it was his first attempt at translation; still more curious in that he was, again like Scott, an indifferent German scholar, although he was thoroughly conversant with Italian. The translation follows the original fairly closely, the stanza used being a modification of Bürger's, in which the rime of lines 1 and 3 is dropt (an internal rime being occasionally substituted), lines 7 and 8 are expanded to four accents, all the rimes as a rule are masculine and anapæstic feet freely introduced. All these devices have been used by other translators, but whereas they used them merely with a view of facilitating the work of translation, Rossetti at the same time justifies their introduction by obtaining a greatly increased range of metrical effect. This range, indeed, is far wider, though usually less admirably balanced than is the case in the original. Mr. W. M. Rossetti considers that, putting out of count the 'ballad' versions of Taylor and Scott, as being merely imitations or paraphrases, his brother's youthful work is the best at present extant. In this I entirely agree with him, for it is really a fine poem in spite of a few crudities, which cannot be said of any of the others, and I would even add that, judged in the spirit of the original, it is even superior to Scott's as a poem. The translator everywhere shows, in his appreciation of the construction of the original, that intensity of poetic feeling, which was characteristic of all his work, and seldom fails to see, though he is not always equally successful in reproducing, Bürger's points. On the other hand, he has somewhat altered the 'tone' of the whole. *Lenore* belongs to the early days of the revival, when Romanticism was yet in its infancy, its 'spooky' or Otranto stage. A more *anmuthige* atmosphere pervades Rossetti's rendering; frequently what is merely weird in the original becomes in the translation infused with subtle beauty. It would be difficult to say whether this was intentional, or whether the poet's imagination coloured all he saw with those particular tints that are characteristic of his verse throughout. The tendency is well seen in such passages as the following, which contain a decided prophecy of the style of *Rose Mary*:—

'Oh! mother, mother! gone is gone!
I reck no more how the world runs on:
What pity to me does God impart?
Woe, woe, woe! for my heavy heart!'

Or, again,

'Hark to the winds, how they whistle and rush
Thro' the twisted twine of the hawthorn bush.'

The following are the stanzas of the *dreimal wiederholtes Gespräch*:—

Here to the right and there to the left
Flew fields of corn and clover,
And the bridges flashed by to the dazzled eye,
As rattling they thundered over.
'What ails my love? the moon shines bright:
Bravely the dead men ride thro' the night.
Is my love afraid of the quiet dead?'
'Ah! no; let them sleep in their dusty bed!'

. . . . . .

How flew to the right, how flew to the left,
Trees, mountains in the race!
How to the left, and the right, and the left,
Flew town and market-place!
'What ails my love? the moon shines bright:
Bravely the dead men ride thro' the night.
Is my love afraid of the quiet dead?'
'Ah! let them alone in their dusty bed!

. . . . . .

How flew the moon high overhead,
In the wild race madly driven!
In and out, how the stars danced about,
And reeled o'er the flashing heaven!
'What ails my love? the moon shines bright:
Bravely the dead men ride thro' the night.
Is my love afraid of the quiet dead?'
'Alas! let them sleep in their dusty bed.'

The first four lines of this last stanza are certainly inferior both to Scott's and Taylor's versions, but as a whole the *Steigerung* is far more successfully rendered by Rossetti than by any other. In concluding I should like to point out that the translation of *Lenore* printed with the German text in the edition of Retzsch's *Outlines* (Leipzic, 1840) was not, as Mr. W. M. Rossetti asserts, by F. Shoberl, but is identical with the version made by the Rev. J. Beresford about 1800.

I am, Sir, etc.,

Walter Wilson Greg.

Modern Language Teaching

THE NEUPHILOLOGENTAG AT LEIPSIG.

THE Whitsuntide holidays (*Pfingsten, das liebliche Fest*) were utilised by the German Association of Modern Language Teachers for their biennial meeting. After the committee meeting, at which modifications of the rules were agreed to and attention was called to an interesting pamphlet by Dr. Breul, proposing the establishment in London of an 'Imperial Institute' for intending teachers of English, the Congress was informally inaugurated by a social gathering at the Hotel de Pologne. Dr. Wülker, Professor of English at Leipsig, and President of the Congress, took the chair. The guests rose in succession to announce their names and places of residence, songs were sung, speeches made, and beer was not wanting. Among the songs was one by Professor Thiergen of the cadet-school at Dresden,

> Es ist der Neophilolog
> Ein vielgequälter Mann,

describing the trials of a modern language teacher in training—holiday courses, phonetic practice before the looking-glass, international correspondence, chorus-singing of French nasal vowels, controversies of reformers, the old school and the *Virmittler*, and so on—and winding up with a note of triumph:

> Er findet Leben überall
> Und frischen Geister Weh'n,
> Und lernt dureh fremder Laute Sehall
> Auch fremdes Volk verstehn.

On Whit Tuesday the formal proceedings were opened by Professor Wülker, who welcomed the guests and communicated the gratifying intelligence that the members of the Association had risen in the last two years from 720 to 1350. The Saxon Minister of Education, his Excellency Dr. von Seydewitz, gave the Congress his blessing, congratulating the Association on its vigorous life, and urging that a little excess of the reforming spirit was far better than passive conservatism. He was followed by the *Rector Magnificus* of the University, Professor Kirchner, and by the Oberbürgermeister of Leipsig, who commended the efforts of the Association from a municipal point of view, and promised to house the collection of books, etc., which had been brought together. This collection, by the way, included a good library of French school-books and of more valuable works on French history, geography, and institutions, and a smaller group of English books, bearing mainly on Byron and Dickens.

After the foreign delegates had conveyed the good wishes of their respective countries, a lecture was delivered by Professor Meyer-Lübke of Vienna on the origin of the Romance languages. His chief point was that the differences between those languages were due, not so much to the influence of the mother-tongue of the several nationalities among which Latin established itself, as to the continuity or interruption of their intercourse with Italy and with each other. He practically suggested an analogy between the development of languages and the formation of continental and insular fauna and flora. Thus in the fifth century A.D., Sardinia and Corsica were practically annexed to an African kingdom and cut off from intercourse with Italy. Accordingly in the dialects of those islands there is no sign of the changes which in the sixth century affected all other Romance languages. Further illustrations were drawn from the paucity of dialects in Spain contrasted with the abundance of dialects in Italy, dialects that reproduced to a certain extent the ancient divisions. In particular, attention was called to the marked differences between the dialect of Peschiera and that of its neighbour Desenzano, differences traced to historical causes. So too, the peculiarities of the dialects of French Switzerland, Dauphiné, etc., were associated with the kingdom of Upper Burgundy.

After the lecture the meeting proceeded to more practical questions, in some sense preliminary to the field-day arranged for the Wednesday. Professor Vietor took the

lead, and brought forward three groups of propositions affecting the position of modern language studies in general, and of the new methods in particular, to the Universities and the Education Department. The first group had to do with the establishment of well-paid Professorships of English in all Universities where they did not already exist, and the importance of also having Englishmen and Frenchmen as Readers with adequate remuneration. It appears that the 'Lektor' is too often a young Englishman or Frenchman, appointed only for a couple of years, without adequate knowledge of German or sufficient teaching experience, and having a very small salary. Further, Professor Vietor pressed for a larger supply of travelling scholarships (*Reisestipendien*) to enable modern language teachers to pay frequent visits to England and France. Complaints were made that such scholarships were too frequently given to classical scholars (*Altphilologen*) in preference to professed *Neuphilologen*. It was evident that there is a tendency on the part of many *Neuphilologen* to constitute themselves a class of specialists, with an academic training on the lines of the Modern Language Tripos, supplemented by abundant opportunities of acquiring both practical facility in the spoken languages and a knowledge of *Realien*, i.e. the details of modern English and French life, a study already becoming systematised with German thoroughness. In fact, the desire to differentiate as much as possible the teaching of modern languages from that of the classics seems not quite unconnected with the wish to have a 'mystery' of their own. Professor Victor's second group of propositions dealt with Examinations, and claimed that the results of the new method should be judged by a different standard from that adopted for the older ones, though not of course a lower one. This, he urged, was a necessary corollary of the freedom already granted in respect of methods of teaching. The reforms pressed were of a very moderate character; they were the permission to substitute a free composition for translation into the foreign language, and the addition of dictation to the programme. Both these groups of propositions were accepted with practical unanimity. It was round the third proposition that the keenest debate arose. There are in Germany, as is well known, three classes of first-grade schools, *Gymnasien*, in which both Latin and Greek are essential; *Realgymnasien*, in which Latin is studied without Greek; and *Oberrealschulen*, in which neither of the classical languages finds a place. The leaving examinations of these schools constitute a title to study at the Universities, but while those of the *Gymnasien* lead up to any line of study, the pupils of the other schools are limited to certain departments. In particular, those of the *Oberrealschulen* are admitted only to mathematical and scientific courses. Professor Vietor's proposition was to admit them also to the academic study of modern languages. He had no wish to depreciate the importance of Latin for a *Neuphilolog*, but he felt strongly the slur that the existing rule casts upon the *Oberrealschulen*. The motion was eventually carried by a majority of nearly two to one, but at the concluding meeting a protest was handed in by forty members of the minority. In their view the step proposed would militate against the scientific study of modern languages, and eventually lead to the practical exclusion of the *Neuphilologen* from the University.

The sitting was concluded by a short lecture by Dr. Friedwagner of Vienna on Madame de Staël's share in the romantic movement in France. Starting from Brunetière's view that the three main influences which determined that movement were the French Revolution, the study of English and German literature, and that of German philosophy, he was disposed to think that Madame de Staël's part in producing it was more limited than was generally supposed. She belonged, as he pointed out, in many respects to the eighteenth century. She knew little or nothing of German philosophy, and her *de l'Allemagne* was by no means the only book representing German literature in France at that time.

The rest of the day was given up to pleasure; we sat down to dinner at the Buchhändlerhaus at three, and remained there listening from time to time to music and speeches, till it was time to go to the Opera, where the directors had courteously arranged a performance of *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg* for our benefit.

Wednesday was the most important day of the meeting, and it was a triumph all along the line for the reformers. Professor Hartmann, of Leipsig, who is so well known both for his excellent school editions of French classics, and for the part he has taken in promoting international correspondence, and to whose indefatigable exertions the success of the meeting was largely due, was to have presided, but had unfortunately lost his

voice, and the chair was taken in the morning by Professor Stengel of Greifswald, one of the most impetuous champions of the movement, but at the same time a most impartial and clear-headed chairman, and in the afternoon by Professor Sachs, joint author of the famous dictionary. The subject of discussion was a series of propositions brought forward by Professor Wendt, Head-master of the *Oberrealschule* at Hamburg, and supported among others by Professor Walter, Head-master of the *Musterschule* at Frankfort-on-the-Main. It was impossible to listen to these two distinguished head-masters without feeling that in their hands any system of teaching was bound to produce excellent results. The propositions, it should be said, had been unsuccessfully advocated at the Vienna meeting two years ago. Professor Wendt's propositions, as he was careful to point out, referred solely to the three highest classes of the *Oberrealschule*, and were compatible with any system of instruction in the lower classes, though it is hardly necessary to point out that, like the other reformers and the *Vermittler*, he is a strong advocate of oral methods in the lower classes, while fully alive to the importance of 'gerund-grinding' in the accidence. In his opening speech he dwelt on the supreme importance of *Realien*, and pointed out how successful the new method had been in satisfying the requirements of examiners on older lines, particularly in the matter of grammar. While the new method no doubt increased the work of the teacher, it was calculated, he urged, to keep him young and in close touch with his pupils, and to stimulate both his enthusiasm and theirs. The first proposition was, 'The language used in classes must be French or English; particularly difficult passages may be explained in German.' The proposition led to a good deal of debate, and an amendment was moved to insert 'as far as possible,' but was eventually rejected. It was generally admitted that the more delicate questions of Syntax, such as the use of the French subjunctive, and subtle distinctions of meaning (*Synonymik*), should be discussed in German, both for the sake of clearness, and because the effort to understand a troublesome question while grappling with the difficulties of expression in a foreign tongue was too great a strain both on teacher and on taught. Stress was laid on the importance of the teacher speaking freely in the foreign language, and of the pupils being encouraged to do so, even at the cost of some incorrectness at first. The reformers did not wish to stop short at question and answer on the text, which one speaker held to suffice. The second proposition, 'The foreign language is not to be studied as a means of learning German,' led to some debate, and was eventually eliminated. It was, in fact, a matter of opinion rather than of practice. The most striking argument used in the course of the discussion was to the effect that free speaking in a foreign tongue did contribute to mastery of one's own, but in a different way from what was generally supposed, inasmuch as it encouraged quickness of thought, and readiness of speech, and, by discouraging translation, indirectly helped the learner to form a style in his own language. A remark dropped in conversation, that some of the best English stylists had not received a classical education, may serve to illustrate this suggestive argument.

The third proposition was to the effect that 'translation into German is to be limited to cases of distinct difficulty,' or, as Professor Hartmann put it, that translation should be the exception, and the real object of the teacher should be to make reading and understanding one and the same act. Several obvious questions arose: How is the teacher to find out quickly whether his pupils really understand what they read? Is a paraphrase in the foreign language generally sufficient? Are there not many books,—for example, books of a more or less philosophical character,—for which translation is essential? How is superficiality, especially in the case of less advanced pupils, to be avoided? Professor Walter urged, in reply, that the method forced the teacher to work with the pupils, a good argument in the case of *pauci quos aequus amavit Iuppitur aut ardens erexit ad aethera virtus*. Professor Wendt retorted the charge of superficiality on the supporters of translation, his remarks being evidently directed against a literal, lifeless style of translation, a mere rendering of words, without fully understanding the sense—a more real danger in translating from French into English, than in translating from Latin, where it is absolutely necessary to reconstruct the sentences. Incidentally he mentioned the bad German often induced by slovenly translation from the classics. At the same time there was general agreement as to the advantage of careful written translations (*Musterübersetzungen*), both seen and unseen, and as to the difference between *Übersetzung* and *Übertragung*, i.e. between bad and good translation.

The fourth proposition, 'that translation into the foreign language is only to be occasionally set,' is one of the leading doctrines of the reformers, and was pretty generally approved. The reproduction of stories, etc., in the foreign language was thought both easier and more likely to promote thinking in that language. Professor Schweitzer, the delegate of the French Government, quoted his experience of a candidate—surely an exceptional one—who had done an excellent translation from French into German, but could not understand simple German questions, or give an intelligent account of the text he had translated. He went so far as to compare translation to a *jeu de patience*. On the whole, free composition was advocated as aiming at an attainable standard, while attempts at translation were too often a failure. The fifth proposition on the teaching of grammar, or rather of syntax, was not very fully discussed. It was practically a description of what every good teacher, be he of the old or the new school, instinctively does. Freely translated it runs thus: 'A general view of the grammar (syntax) is to be given, and thoroughly gone through, chapter by chapter, including some comparison with the phenomena of other languages. In reading, stress should be laid on points of style and idiom in the foreign language, and interest awakened in etymology and the distinction of synonyms.' The intention seemed to be to protest against mere formal grammar rules. Incidentally Professor Walter called attention to the use of the inductive method, leading pupils to construct their own rules from the text they were reading.

The next propositions dealt with reading-books. The general drift of them was to the effect that they should consist mainly of modern prose, and that, while some of the reading should be distinctly literary, a good deal of it should bear directly on the political, economic, and social conditions of England and France. Leading facts of the history and geography of the country and even the topography of London and Paris should be included, and, in the highest class, topics of the day should be discussed. The history of literature should be excluded except so far as it was necessary for the understanding of modern English or French thought. Some reading on scientific and technical subjects, especially out of school-hours, was to be recommended. Moreover, dramatic scenes and recitation in English and French on speech-days should be encouraged. The last proposition, so far as the numbers are concerned, revealed a striking difference between English and German schools. It ran:—'In the course of the year *eight to ten* short free compositions are to be done, the majority of them in school'; they have generally to take the form of reproduction, but translation from German may occasionally be set. Also dictation and occasional unseens or other written translations into German.'

The rest of the day was spent in the 'ascent' of the Scherbelberg, a mound crowned by a tower to the north of the town, and in a 'Commers' at Bonorand's, where a number of songs written for the occasion, including two or three in English, were sung, as well as some of the famous *Studentenlieder*. The toast of the foreign guests was proposed by Professor Vietor, and drunk most cordially, with the effect of bringing your representative on his legs to acknowledge his appreciation of *deutsche Gastfreundlichkeit und deutsche Gemütlichkeit*, and of the noble international aims of the *Neuphilologenverband*.

The last day, when Professor Hartmann was happily able to preside, was chiefly occupied by lectures. The first, by Professor Koch of Berlin, was on the present condition of researches relative to Chaucer, the quincentenary of whose death falls within the present year. It included a criticism of Skeat's edition and a discussion of the genuineness of the *Romaunt of the Rose* and other poems. The next was by Dr. Banner of Frankfort on the Frankfort system of using French as a common basis of linguistic instruction in the lower classes in all three types of secondary schools. He held that French was well adapted to supply a good deal of the general grammatical training usually associated with elementary Latin, and urged the extension of the system both in the *Gymnasien*, where it would tend to relieve the pressure and give time for more Greek, and in the *Realgymnasien*, where it would allow of wider reading in Latin. Professor Müller of Heidelberg then gave an account of the proceedings of the Committee on School-books, pointing out some of the difficulties that beset their undertaking. Lastly, Professor Schweitzer issued a hearty invitation to the International Congress on Modern Language Teaching in connection with the Paris Exhibition, and, in a speech that was cordially and deservedly applauded, dwelt on the advantages to be derived from the closer intercourse of nations, and from their better understanding of each other's language and modes of thought. A very

pleasant meeting was concluded by the usual votes of thanks, and it was announced that friendly replies had been received to the loyal telegrams despatched to the Emperor and the King of Saxony. An excursion to the *Fürstenschule* at Grimma, one of the three endowed boarding-schools founded in Saxony at the Reformation, formed the *finale* to a most agreeable gathering. Your representative has only to add his grateful appreciation of the courtesy and hospitality extended to him.

H. W. Eve.

THE 'GOOD ENGLISH' CIRCULAR.

The 'Good English' circular sent out by the Sub-Committee on Phonetics has from its completeness repelled some persons who might, nevertheless, help in the work of the committee. If those who have received it would fill in as much as they can, all such help would be valuable. It would, at the same time, be a convenience if all who hope to fill in the circular, either wholly or only in part, could find time to do so within the next few months.

Harold W. Atkinson.
Hon. Sec. Sub-Com. on Phon.

Rossall School,
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THE LATIN QUESTION.

My interest in the important question raised by Mr. P. S. Jeffrey in the August issue of the *Quarterly* leads me to ask for further light upon certain of the issues which its settlement one way or the other must involve. The cardinal one may be presented as follows. Supposing Latin to be taught in the best way possible (which at present it certainly is not), and French also in the best way possible (and this I understand, from Mr. Jeffrey and other authorities, not to be at present the case), which of the two languages should be the earliest taught? Upon this I am not clear, for the following reasons. Firstly, admitting that the experience of Dr. Schlee and Dr. Walter is conclusive, so far as it goes, it does not go far enough for me. It may show that, if you teach French as a living language and Latin as a dead one, it is better to begin with French. But *supposing you teach Latin also as a living tongue* (and it is a cardinal article in my faith that this is the only reasonable way to teach it), the experience counts for nothing as proof. Let the trial be made under fair conditions before we decide for one language or the other. In the failure of the direct evidence to help us we must have recourse to indirect. And herein I should like to have the opinion of those who have had a wide experience of the relative difficulty which the two languages present to the youthful mind. The only evidence that I can offer is that of a little girl of five to six who certainly found French the easier. But relative difficulty does not appear to be all that we have to regard. The memory has to do much more in Latin than in French, and, *ceteris paribus*, the sooner this is got over the better. But if it can be shown that the difficulties of Latin are such as to discourage the pupil at an age when the difficulties of French would not discourage him, I should at once admit that French should have the preference. At present, however, this has not been done; and we ought to make no changes until we see our way clear.

All will agree that anything which French and Latin can mutually do to help each other should be done. And I would accordingly suggest to teachers that they should teach Latin with the reformed, that is to say, substantially the continental, pronunciation of Latin, and, above all, give the continental values to the vowel signs. This will be a considerable help to the learner in the acquisition of both pronunciation and vocabulary.

In conclusion I may mention, though not of course relevant to the main subject of this article, a use of Latin which some of my readers may find it interesting to consider. When the little girl already referred to first began to read—she was not quite four—and was still in the stage of easy monosyllables, the experiment was made of

teaching her to read Latin, of which she understood not a word, upon strict phonetic principles. The result was that in about four months of occasional lessons she could not only give correctly any Latin word that was put before her, but she could also read a page of ordinary English with considerable fluency. This method was adopted to avoid the necessity of teaching English through inconsistencies of its erratic spelling. And for the same reason the Latin words were presented to her at the beginning in capitals, which, she was told, with perfect truth, was the way the Romans wrote them.

J. P. POSTGATE.

HOW FAR IS THE *NEUERE RICHTUNG* POSSIBLE IN ENGLISH SCHOOLS?

II. THE DIFFICULTIES ENCOUNTERED BY THE TEACHER.

IT is a very old but none the less true proverb that the proof of a pudding can only be found in the eating of it. In whatever way a new system of teaching may have been discovered, whether by the psychologist on theoretical considerations, or by the practical teacher from his own experience, the final measure of its success will depend upon the extent to which the method can be applied. We have already suggested the various difficulties of organisation which affect the adoption of the Neuere Richtung into English schools. It therefore only remains to discuss the question from the point of view of the individual teacher.

Any new method of teaching which has survived the test of fairly general application can claim to lighten in one direction at least the difficulties of a teacher, if he only feels he can do much more with it. Now the new method of teaching modern languages aims at achieving much more than has hitherto been done, and sufficiently wide experience has now been had of it to show that in the hands of a capable teacher it can do all that it claims to do. Many an enthusiastic teacher, having thus found a system which makes him capable of attaining higher aims with his pupils, does not at first pause to consider whether the result is commensurate with the increased labour put into it. If a system of teaching can only be successfully applied with undue expenditure of labour and time on the part of the teacher, it must eventually be a failure. Undoubtedly the new method does make an enormously increased demand on the teacher both as to energy and time. Not only does he require to prepare his lessons very carefully, but he must also in class time put the whole of his energy into the work in order to ensure the active and interested co-operation of his class. The teacher, however, who adopts the new method, and puts his whole heart into it, will find himself fully repaid for it, not only in the actual progress made by the pupils, but still more in the keen relish with which his pupils come to the class. The older methods do not similarly entail great expenditure of time and energy, and, with book in hand, teachers with comparatively little acquaintance with the language can take a junior class without any preparation of the lesson. This accounts very largely for such methods having reigned so long supreme.

This would seem to indicate the necessity for a decrease in the number of actual teaching hours of the modern language masters. The doing of this would very considerably add to a difficulty which has been referred to before, when it was shown that the increase in hours already required for the application of the new method necessitated a considerable addition to the modern language staff.

As we have already pointed out, it is only an excuse for bad teaching to urge that the English boy as a rule has no aptitude for learning foreign languages; but it must be confessed that there do exist circumstances which make it more difficult for the English teacher to achieve the same measure of success as his German contemporaries. The new modern language teacher is in a sense a pioneer. He is opening up what is, comparatively speaking, new country. Unlike his classical *confrère*, he has no school tradition which will assist him in his work. On the contrary, he will in many cases find a school tradition which will hamper him in every way. In those cases where the modern languages have been really neglected, the teacher will find his subject treated with that want of respect and contempt which schoolboys always show towards work they are neither interested in, nor

made to apply themselves to. In other cases where, on the contrary, the teaching of modern languages has been very much forced and crammed on the older lines, a very large proportion of the boys will have an almost undying hatred for their French or German lessons. 'Insular prejudice' is now already quite strong enough a feature of the national character and capable at times of making sufficient mischief, without being thus fostered in our schools. Further, many parents, when sending their boys to school, look back to their own school-life, and ask themselves wherein lies the value of all the dull grammatical grind through which they were put, and through which they see their boys being put. They themselves derived no practical advantage, nor are they aware of having received any mental benefit, from it. Consequently we must not be surprised if our boys do not start with a very great respect for modern languages. All these and other adverse influences the teacher will have to overcome, and the extent to which he will find difficulty in doing so, and in creating a tradition of interest and work, will depend almost entirely on himself.

In turning now to the actual work of the teacher, the foremost consideration is that of pronunciation. In the practical application of the phonetic system to English schools, two questions arise which need discussing. The first of these mainly concerns the pupils. If—as is already the case in a large number of our more modern schools—French, German, and Latin are to be all taught, the first of these to be commenced will generally be French. Then Latin will follow, and German will be started last. It may be observed here in parenthesis, that we do not by any means regard this order of subjects as the most desirable, but so strong in English teaching is the effect of tradition that a greater change than that which the adoption of this order involves is not likely to take place, or, at any rate, not for some time to come. The first subject then—in this case French—will have to be started with boys about the age of ten. Is the phonetic system of teaching pronunciation, both in preliminary and later lessons, to be applied to English boys of this age? In answering this question it will be necessary to distinguish between the mere teaching of pronunciation by phonetics and the real teaching of phonetics. Under the former would be included the explanation of and practice with the *Lauttafel*, and the reference to it of the pronunciation of all new words. Under the latter would be included much more than this: in fact the study of phonetics not as a means to an end, but as an end in themselves. This would involve a large amount of practice in transcription. This certainly is necessary for the teacher, and may even be advisable for the advanced pupil, but both unnecessary and inadvisable for the young beginner. English boys of nine to eleven years old are already expected to learn quite enough without adding to it the acquirement of skill in the use of phonetic signs. The use of the phonetic system by the teacher in order to organise the teaching of pronunciation is a comparatively simple matter, and the reference *by him* of the pronunciation of new words to the table only implies that the pupils shall know thoroughly what sound is represented by each sign.

We do not wish to urge that a further acquirement of skill in the use of phonetic signs is of little value in the attainment of a good pronunciation. On the contrary, there is little doubt, from the experience of many teachers, that it is of great value where it can be applied. What we would really point out is that the powers and capabilities of the children must be the first and chief consideration.

The second question which arises in connection with the teaching of phonetics in English schools is one which must be discussed with due regard to the interests of both pupils and teachers. Should phonetics be only and for the first time applied to the learning of foreign tongues? We would answer most decidedly in the negative, and indeed for a number of reasons.

Firstly: Our own language has not a sufficiently fixed standard of pronunciation. Our vowel sounds — and these are the greatest difficulties in the pronunciation of any language—are as a rule very carelessly and indifferently pronounced. The use of a *Lauttafel* in the reading lessons in the junior classes might be made of great service in improving the pronunciation of the native tongue.

Secondly: The phonetic signs and the use of the *Lauttafel* will be much more rapidly learnt through the medium of English than of a foreign language, inasmuch as most of the combinations of sounds can be so richly illustrated from the pupil's own knowledge. The pupil is not likely to get confused with a number of strange words. These two arguments may appear at first glance to be more or less contradictory to one another, since it may be urged that the looseness of English

pronunciation would make the use of English a hindrance rather than an aid to the classification of sounds by the *Lauttafel*. It is true that the careless pronunciation of English people is a difficulty to the acquirement of a good foreign pronunciation, but it is one which applies generally to any system of learning a foreign tongue, and in so far as it is best cured by more or less phonetic training, it will be less of a barrier to that method than to any other.

Thirdly: There is no reason why it should be the special duty of the foreign language master to teach the pupils the use of their organs of speech and the classification thereby of the different sounds of speech. His work in this direction should only be to teach such new sounds as are peculiar to the particular language he is teaching, and to show the differences in the representation of those sounds which are already known. It would very much relieve the work and lighten the difficulties of the teacher of the first modern language, if he found the ground so prepared for him. Further, it would make the commencement of the first foreign language appear to the pupil a much simpler task, and he would sooner be able to plunge *in medias res*.

It is doubtful whether this is ever likely to be done, partly indeed because of the difficulty there would be in finding men able and willing to do the work, who are not themselves modern language teachers.

In spite of these difficulties, however, there seems to be no insuperable obstacle to the application of the phonetic system of teaching pronunciation to younger boys in English schools, if only it is applied with due regard to the capabilities of the pupils.

Before leaving this question of pronunciation we should like to refer to the statement which is occasionally heard that English boys can never be got to pronounce a foreign language even moderately well. This contention is usually brought forward by the same people who would have us believe that English boys have little, if any, aptitude for foreign languages at all. We have already shown the absurdity of this notion, and it is equally ridiculous in this special case to argue that because poor results have been obtained in the past, English boys are incapable of good pronunciation. That in England the schoolboy's pronunciation of French should have become so notorious, is due to nothing but sheer neglect. With proper methods of teaching, an English boy can be trained to pronounce foreign languages quite as well as any German boy.

It is as well to consider separately the teacher's work in giving the pupils a good accent on account of the peculiar difficulties it presents. The acquirement of a good accent and intonation by every pupil of a class demands very great care and precision on the part of the teacher, especially from the fact that it is not a matter depending merely upon the application of fixed formulæ. On the contrary, acquiring a foreign accent is rather like learning a musical instrument, inasmuch as the degree of proficiency which is ultimately reached depends so largely on the 'ear' of the pupil. Though it is true that the possession of a musical ear is very largely a matter of training, it is not entirely so, for no amount of training will produce one in some people. Similarly, any teacher who has had much experience in the oral teaching of modern languages will have observed that while on the one hand there are some pupils in his class who immediately reproduce his own intonation and accent with almost startling accuracy, there are others whom he almost gives up in despair as never likely to acquire anything approaching a foreign accent. The teacher can only hope to cure these cases by constant oral work, by which he may gradually get them accustomed to the 'ring' of the language. Herein lies the great value of reading aloud and the repetition of poetry. But indeed with this again, as with all the other difficulties that beset the teacher, a great deal depends upon himself. Professor Baetgen has put this very well in an article on the teaching of French in German schools—'Freilich liegt *ungeheuer viel* bei dem Lehrer.'

In the choice of the subject-matter for the early oral work, the teacher will have to use a great deal of discretion. While, for instance, boys of ten starting French would take the liveliest interest in Hölzel's pictures of the seasons or in Cran's elementary book, and would throw themselves heartily into the work, boys of thirteen would 'vote it childish' if they were put through the same at the commencement of German. The same principle may be followed, but the subject-matter must be made suitable to the age and sentiments of the pupil.

At present the want of school-books on these lines—especially in German—makes this rather difficult to carry out in so far as the teacher must either use such books as he can get, or else choose a reading-book and base his work on that. Though in the latter way the teacher may be best able to

adapt his material for his teaching to his class, it is for the sake of reference and revision inadvisable that the pupils' books should contain none of the questions and answers, outlines for compositions, and practice in verbs, etc., that are derived from the reading. In the absence of such a book there is always a fear that the teaching may become of too desultory and scattered a nature.

The only other direction in which the English teacher of foreign languages will have to cope with any difficulty in the adoption of the Neuere Richtung lies in the writing and correction of free compositions, especially in the higher classes.

Just as we have pointed out above, that boys cannot be expected to acquire a good foreign pronunciation till they have learnt to speak their own tongue properly, we must similarly ensure that our pupils can write good English composition before they are set to write foreign composition. This caution is all the more necessary, because frequently in our modern schools too little attention is paid to the writing of good English. It is useless to introduce a new and improved method of teaching foreign languages unless the teaching of our own language keeps pace with it.

When it comes, however, to considering how these free compositions are to be corrected, there arises a question which is not easy to answer. Can an English teacher of a foreign language, unless he has lived abroad for several years, correct a free composition perfectly? However sure he may be that no errors in grammar will miss his eye and that he can detect all 'Englishisms,' he can never equal a native in the suggestion of those expressions which best suit the case. On the one hand, it may be urged that this obstacle, insuperable as it seems, only becomes of great moment in the very highest classes, when it is time that the pupils should be brought into contact with the people whose language they have learnt. On the other hand, there do persistently arise points which can only be satisfactorily solved by a native, and it seems almost as if the staff of the school should on that account include at least one such teacher for each language. In a large school requiring more than one modern language teacher such an arrangement might easily be made. Discussion, however, of this question would take us beyond the scope of our present subject. Let it suffice for the present to point out that free compositions not only throw much additional work on an already heavily burdened teacher, but also make very great demands on his acquaintance with, and his skill in the use of, the foreign language which he teaches.

Thus it appears that by far the most serious obstacles to the introduction of the Neuere Richtung into English schools are matters concerning school organisation and management, and that if these can only be overcome, the teachers themselves who are anxious to take the actual work in hand will find a comparatively easy task before them.

W. Campbell Brown.

SUGGESTED SCHEME FOR THE TEACHING OF FRENCH IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS.

Courses II. and III.

In the issue of November 1897, we put out suggestions for the teaching of French in classes of boys and girls whose age was between 9 and 12 (Course I.). It has been a great satisfaction to us to find, not only that the scheme had been found useful, but, what is more, that many of its suggestions have been actually carried out in practice.

Many circumstances have prevented us from continuing our work, but the delay that has occurred has not been without its advantages.

As many have probably not this old number at hand, we must of necessity repeat many of our remarks, for which older adherents of the M.L.A. are begged to accept our apologies.

'In preparing a series of Schedules for the consideration of our fellow-teachers, it is our wish mainly to offer suggestions for the better organisation of French and German teaching in secondary schools.

'Although there are some heads of schools thoroughly competent to draw up a scheme to suit their own requirements, we have been told that there are many who would be glad to be guided more or less by the experience of a few modern language teachers.

'We are fully aware of the indisputable

fact that each teacher is the best judge of the work his own pupils are capable of doing, and of the books that best suit his individual teaching. At the same time many feel that, in spite of the goodwill of both authors and publishers, there are many very useful books that escape their notice, and that would prove of great value. This is why we mention a few books which have been found of good practical use. We mention them, impartially, not only on account of their own value, but also as samples of *the* books we recommend, well knowing that there are many others of the same kind and of similar worth.'

Preliminary Remarks.

We assume that pupils at this stage have under Course I. acquired :—

1. *Vocabulary.*—A knowledge of the words contained in one or two of the many elementary text-books mentioned in Course I.

2. A certain facility in expressing simple thoughts and turning easy English sentences into French, principally *vivâ voce*, but also in writing, the models being taken from the text-books.

3. *Grammar.*—The Auxiliary and Regular *Verbs*, and the negative and interrogative.

The Plural and Feminine of Nouns and Adjectives that are regular, and, among the irregular, those that are in common use. Comparison of Adjectives.

Cardinal and Ordinal numerals.

Pronouns and Pronomiual Adjectives in their simplest forms.

(Practically, the requirements of the Third Class of the Syllabus of the College of Preceptors.)

General Principles.

'One lesson of half an hour for six days is better than three lessons of an hour on alternate days.

'There are three recognised methods of teaching :

'1. The exclusive use of Grammar and Exercises.

'2. The use of a Reading-Book in connection with which the Grammar is incidentally taught in its barest essentials.

'3. The exclusively Oral Method.

'The method that, in our opinion, gives the best results is a judicious combination of the three.'

Scheme of Work.

'I. *Oral Teaching.*

'(*a*) *Pronunciation.*—It is most important that beginners should be given none but the correct pronunciation. It is sometimes thought advisable that teachers should know something of phonetics.[1]

'(*b*) *Conversation.*—Pictures will be found a valuable help as a first step towards connecting the French words with the actual objects, rather than with their English equivalents. Short and easy sentences are made up out of a prepared passage of the Reading-Book, questions asked in French, and answers repeating a large part of the question exacted. Only by constant oral practice can words and forms of verbs be fixed in the memory.

'(*c*) *Dictation* of a short conversation made up in class will ensure the recognition of the individual words used. This can be followed by dictation of portions of the Reader; or a short story can be compressed by the teacher himself into a few lines.

'II. *The Reading-Book.*—Translation should always be preceded by reading aloud, first by the master, then by the pupils, individually or in chorus. It is most important that the Reading-Book should be interesting to the pupils: of such books there is no scarcity. We recommend beginning from the very first with a set of stories or a continuous tale. The first page is read and translated, and the vocabulary taken down by the pupil, unless it be already printed at the end of the book according to pages.

'For the first few lessons the pages should be read over and over again, until they are practically known by heart.

'III. *Re-translation.*—Re-translation takes time and trouble; but, when well prepared, amply repays both. It s useful from the very beginning.

[1] Since these words were written (1897), I have tried using the phonetic symbols in class; I found them so useful that I have adopted them in all my classes: we use the Passy *L'Écriture Phonétique* (Association Phonétique, Bourg la Reine, Seine, France, 50 *centimes*). The results as regards pronunciation for whole classes are extraordinary. See my letter on the 'Practical Use of Phonetics' in the *Journal of Education* and the *Educational Times* of May 1900.

'Some books have been specially prepared for this purpose; they have short French stories and anecdotes on the left page, and an English translation on the right. The pupil has to repeat the French from the English; fluency should be insisted on. This practice is less difficult than actually learning the passage by heart, and illustrates most usefully the difference of idiom. This work can be prepared by the dullest pupil, and perfect accuracy secured.

'IV. *Repetition.*—Repetition (from memory) of French prose or poetry—as much as time can be found for: a minimum of ten lines a week.

'V. *Examinations.*—The teacher should continually exercise his class in repeating their back work, and should hold monthly, or at least quarterly, examinations.'

Course II.—Age 12—15.

Time.—A minimum of *four lessons* a week. occupying at least three hours; some, but not necessarily all, should involve home-preparation.

SCHEDULE.

1. Vocabulary: Text-Books.

The Vocabulary already acquired has to be *fixed*, and new words and phrases have to be added from interesting and well-chosen text-books, specially adapted to the age, sex, and tastes of each class.

Among those that we find most recommended by masters and mistresses who, in answer to our circular, very kindly gave us their valuable assistance, are:—

The Classics.

The excellent collections of modern authors published by Hachette, Arnold, Rivington, Macmillan (particularly Siepmann's edition), Blackie, Armand, Colin (*Pages choisies des grands Écrivains*).

Comédies, Saynètes, etc. (Hachette).

Many prefer *Readers*, *i.e.* collections of extracts, whose name is legion.

It should be noticed, *en passant*, that it is no use racing through a book. If it is interesting, the temptation is all the stronger. Such a process is merely ploughing the sands. French books are read in order that French words and constructions should be learnt. Constant revision is therefore necessary; and for real progress to be made, a minimum of ten lines for each lesson should be *learnt by heart*.

2. Translation from and into French.

By the age of 15, school boys and girls ought to be able to translate easy continuous narrative into French.

Our experience in examinations shows that weakness in candidates betrays itself not only in the matter of Vocabulary, though even here very ordinary words are very often known but in a hazy way, with very vague ideas of spelling and gender, but—and chiefly—in the syntactic connection of words: *à le frère, les homme, ils fait, j'ai le vu*, etc. In other words, grammar in its *applied* form 'ploughs' more candidates than any other part of an examination.

It is therefore essential that: first, a Vocabulary be acquired[1]; and secondly, that the conjunction of the words be studied and practised so often as to be practically at the tip of the tongue. This can only be obtained by *learning* passages *by heart*.

The books in use we find to be most numerous and varied; and teachers have ample scope to choose according to their tastes.

For *re-translation* we were most astonished at not seeing, in the answers we received, any mention of books of the nature of Nelson's *Second Reading-Book*, or Pellissier's *Vivâ Voce French Class-Book* (Rivingtons), in which English and French are printed facing one another on opposite pages. These have been found most useful not only for composition but also for oral practice, the former being suitable for children of 9 to 12, the latter for pupils of 14 onwards. These books we mention because they do not seem to be generally known.

3. Grammar.

By the age of 15 the following Scheme should have been gone through and *thoroughly known*:—

The Verb.

Names of French Tenses.
Formation of Tenses.
Avoir.
Être.
Regular Verbs Conjugated.
,, ,, ,, Negatively.
,, ,, ,, Interrogatively.
,, ,, ,, Negatively and Interrogatively.
Passive Voice.
,, ,, Negatively.
,, ,, Interrogatively.
,, ,, Negatively and Interrogatively.
Reflective Verbs Conjugated.
,, ,, ,, Negatively.
,, ,, ,, Interrogatively.
,, ,, ,, Negatively and Interrogatively.

[1] The most convenient method is by means of a book of 'Vocabularies.'

Verbs conjugated with *Être*, *Je suis entré*, etc.
Impersonal (Unipersonal) Verbs: (*y avoir*).
Verbs in *-eler*, *-eter*.
Verbs in *-é//-er* (*peser*, etc.).
,, *-é//-er*.
,, *-yer*.
,, *-ccr* and *-ger*.

PRINCIPAL IRREGULAR VERBS.

Conj. I.	*aller*	Conj. IV.	*absoudre*
	envoyer		*battre*
			conclure
Conj. II.	*assaillir*		*conduire*
	bouillir		*lire*
	fuir		*rire*
	sentir		*connaître*
	vêtir		*plaire*
	couvrir		*craindre*
	acquérir		*croire*
	courir		*croître*
	mourir		*écrire*
	cueillir		*mettre*
	tenir		*suivre*
			vaincre
Conj. III.	*asseoir*		*vivre*
	pouvoir		*boire*
	savoir		*dire*
	valoir		*maudire*
	voir		*faire*
	vouloir		*prendre*

GRAMMATICAL ACCENTS.

Elision.
Division of syllables.
Use of capital letters.

THE ARTICLES (DEFINITE, INDEFINITE AND PARTITIVE).

Principal rules of Syntax, including the use of *de* after a negative, after a word of quantity, and before an adjective.

Plural of Nouns and Adjectives.
,, Irregular Nouns and Adjectives (omitting rare words such as *poux*, *travails*, etc.),
,, the most common Compound Nouns.
,, Proper Nouns.
Feminine of Nouns (regular).
,, ,, (irregular).
,, of Adjectives.
,, Adjectives, irregular (endings).
,, ,, in *-eur*.
,, ,, Irregular (single).
Adjectives with double masculine.
Place of Adjectives.
Adverbs of Manner.
,, Place of.
GENDERS: A few practical rules.
(Only the *chief*) Nouns with a different meaning according to their gender.
Demonstrative Adjective.
,, Pronoun.
Possessive Adjective.
,, ,, Syntax.
,, Pronoun.
Personal Pronoun, Order of.
,, ,, 'Conjunctive' or 'Disjunctive.'
,, ,, 3rd reflective (*soi*).
,, ,, *le* or *la*, *les*.
,, ,, addition of *en*.
Relative Pronoun, *lequel*, etc.
,, ,, Syntax.
Interrogative Pronoun.
,, Adjective.
,, 'WHAT'.
Numerals, Cardinal.
,, Ordinal.
,, Syntax.
,, (*vingt* and *cent*, *mil*).
Demi, *nu*.
excepté, *ci-inclus*, etc.
Comparison of Adjectives and Adverbs (*as*, *than*).
Tout, adverb, syntax.
Quelque, *quel que*.
Collective Nouns.
Differentiation between the Past Definite and Imperfect: use of the Past Indefinite.
Subjunctive after Verbs that can be classified.
,, ,, Conjunctions.
,, Sequence of Tenses.
Present Participle or Verbal Adjective.
Past Participle alone, or with *être*.
,, with *avoir*.
,, of Reflective Verbs.
Il est or *C'est*: (broad Rule).
Negatives.
Addition of *ne*.
Differentiation between Conjunctions and Prepositions (*after*, *before*, *since*, etc.).
Uses of *quand* with the future, and of *si*.
A few familiar idioms ('comment vous portez-vous?'—'avoir faim,' etc.), and phrases with *faire*.

Before leaving this subject, we would point out that too often candidates in examinations have got up tiny and unimportant points such as the difference between *le souris* and *la souris*, *second* and *deuxième* (a question actually set in June 1899 in an elementary examination) and write *il a mouru*, etc. The whole *corps enseignant* should set itself against such work. Let teachers show judicious discrimination; let them insist on the essentials, and allow recondite points to go by the board; these are not 'Grammar.'

Another important point is that the text of a rule is useless unless its application is well understood and known. Examination answers show that this principle is not sufficiently recognised. A rule should be illustrated by an enormous multiplicity of examples.

Some privileged teachers use their own imagination, others use books of 'drill' which are well known and need no mention.

ORAL PRACTICE.

Another point upon which our inquiry bore was that of Oral practice.

Though one of our correspondents answered frankly and pithily, 'Very little done, doesn't pay!' the majority of the answers we obtained showed that considerable pains were taken in this most important part of our teaching.

Now that *vivâ voce* forms part of every examination in the University of London after the matriculation, as it is going to form part of the Oxford and Cambridge Local Examinations, it *will* 'pay'; and it is astonishing to see what rapid results will follow a few efforts on the teacher's part, when pupils have the incentive of marks at the end of the year.

First of all we would recommend to the careful reading and attention of all teachers of Modern Languages, the excellent books by Dr. Breul, by Dr. Spencer, the *Methods of Teaching Modern Languages* (Heath & Co.), the *Special Reports on Modern Language Teaching*, published by the Education Department (Eyre & Spottiswoode, 6½d.), and *The Study of Colloquial and Literary French* by Koschwitz and Shaw Jeffrey (Whittaker & Co.) which contains invaluable practical hints on every topic that may interest the student and teacher of French.

As regards the books used in Oral Teaching, a careful enumeration of these will be helpful, since they seem to be but little known; some seem more applicable to Course I. (*age* 9—12), but the repetition may be pardoned.

Hölzel Wall Pictures (Hachette).
Kron, *Le Petit Parisien* (Dent).
Madame Blouet's Bible Stories.
Eugène and Duriaux, *The Study of French*, Book VI. (Macmillan, 6d.).
Passy, *Premier Livre de Lecture.*
Méthode Berlitz.
Pitman's *Hebdomadaire Français* (1d. per number).
Hugo's Journal (1d. per number).
Nelson's *Second Reading-Book.*
Pellissier, *Vivâ Voce* French Class-Book (Rivingtons).

These have proved helpful; there may be—and no doubt are—many others; but these have been particularly brought before our notice.

Of course it need hardly be said that efficiency in oral teaching depends mainly upon the teacher.

Course III. (Ages 15—18).

The same schedule applies to Course III.

Grammar.

The Accidence and Syntax must be thoroughly got up and the application of the rules be ready to hand.

The best-known parts of the defective Verbs should be learnt.

The Partitive Article should be now completely studied with its difficult uses (e.g. *l'esprit d'humanité* and *l'esprit de l'humanité*, etc.).

In a word, the work of Grammar should now be completed and thoroughly mastered.

But let it be remembered that for students of 18 years of age *Grammar* should be only a means to write prose correctly, and should not be considered as an end, as a study of curious intricacies; this study should be reserved for future teachers, theorists, and *savants*. Experience shows that these grammatical *minutiæ* can only be understood, grasped, and retained by 2 or 3 out of a class of 20 or 25 boys, and girls of 18 or even of 21 and 22, and that the huge majority are only bewildered by the kaleidoscopic display of contradictory examples.

We would therefore suggest that only the practical part of grammar be studied, the rest being severely left alone; the time and energy thus gained can be more profitably devoted to the thorough mastery of the essentials, which examinations show to be often wofully neglected, probably on account of the time expended—or rather wasted—over the fruitless attempt at mastering Chinese quibbles.

Text-Books.

In this course we do not recommend much harder books; however, if classes like hard words, as they often do, let them tackle Théophile Gautier, Daudet, Victor Hugo.

Idioms, Proverbs.

By 18, students should have mastered the *chief* idioms or proverbs; among the books we would recommend are those of Plan, Bué, Payen-Payen, and Deshumbert.

These are very useful and not too complete; and it is impossible for *all* the chief idioms and phrases to have been seen in the ordinary course of reading. Such a book is therefore necessary.

Vivâ Voce.

For *vivâ voce* practice, besides the Pellissier already mentioned, we would recommend L. A. Happé's *One Hundred Passages for Translation at Sight* (Hirschfeld Bros.), in three parts: I., English; II., French; III., German.

Finally, let learning poetry and prose by *heart* be made an *essential* part of the lessons, and a little conversational practice be wedged in as a relaxation and an amusement.

It will be seen that an essential point in the method of teaching that we recommend is *learning by heart* as much as possible. Let those who have not tried it make the attempt; they will have some difficulty at first, schoolboys being most conservative; but they will be astonished, and delighted, with the results.

I have most gratefully to acknowledge the assistance received from many correspondents, and more particularly that of Mr. Payen-Payen, who very kindly helped in setting the questions, and in sorting and classifying the answers to our queries.

VICTOR SPIERS
(*King's College, London*).

PHONETICS IN CLASS.

As recent times have seen a constantly increasing interest in the subject of phonetics, both as a scientific study and as a practical aid to the teacher, the following description of the manner in which the author has introduced phonetics into two widely different classes in an English Public School may be of value in suggesting to others who have hesitated how the attempt may be made, and may at the same time serve to dispel misapprehensions that still exist in many quarters as to the meaning of phonetics as applied to class teaching.

The use of phonetics as an aid to the acquisition of the pronunciation of a foreign tongue implies two things: first, that the teacher shall have made a study of phonetics as applied to the language he is teaching, and shall have a good pronunciation; and secondly, that he shall make such use of his knowledge in his class work as he shall think best calculated to assist his pupils in acquiring a good pronunciation. When we speak of phonetics we do not even necessarily imply the use of a phonetic script. To avoid all possibility of misunderstanding, it may be well to state explicitly that it is not the part of the teacher to put before his pupils anything more than the barest outlines of the science of phonetics. It is not necessary even to mention such a word as Phonetics. Sound Symbols or Pronunciation Signs are clearer phrases to schoolboys, and savour less of difficulties and erudition. Nor again does the use of phonetics imply the use of any particular method or system of language teaching. It can, as will become clear below, be introduced at any time in the course of teaching. True it is that the earlier it is made use of the better for teacher and taught. No training in pronunciation will ever handicap a boy in the competition of a French class, even if in higher classes the pronunciation should be neglected. On the other hand, no class can have been so neglected or be so bad but what phonetics may aid in bettering its condition.

To those who have read accounts of the successes of the Reform method, and with it the successes of the use of phonetics in schools abroad, the question will perhaps not unnaturally have occurred, 'How can such results be arrived at in England, where the conditions are so different with regard to the school systems? Can we in an English school, with its terminal promotions and entries, afford to give, as so often recommended by foreign teachers, some three weeks or a month to pronunciation drill every time new boys come into the class?' This question is most reasonable. Three weeks, three times a year, make nine weeks, equivalent to a whole term, omitting exam. time. This would be much to give to pronunciation alone. But suppose we give three weeks a year at the rate of one week per term, though we do not arrive so soon at a decent pronunciation, yet in the course of a year much may be done, and the time to be devoted to the rest of our language teaching is not seriously diminished.

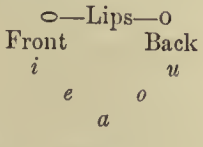
The following description of work with two French sets must be understood as a sort of compromise between the old method and the new. The author does not claim for what follows any particular novelty or originality, but offers it simply as a description of methods used and results obtained, in the hope that it may prove of some service to others.

The two classes that have been treated to phonetics are the lowest modern form, average age 14·4, average intelligence rather low, and the highest set but one on the classical side, average age about 16·8, average intelligence very fair. Time given to French, modern side, five hours a week; classical side, two hours. Taking the usual

results of exams., the classical side sets do more in two hours than the modern in their five.

It will be best to consider the work with the modern class first. The boys are very different in standard. Some come knowing a fair amount of French, seldom with much pronunciation; some come knowing none, offering thus virgin soil to cultivate. Some know a little, but think that they know much more. The form numbers on an average sixteen.

The pupils will all agree that they can tell a Frenchman when he tries to talk English. They will readily concede that it is possible that an Englishman speaking French might be equally easily recognised by a Frenchman. Evidently the pronunciation then must be rather difficult. A comparison of a few words in the two languages will soon show that the vowel sounds of each are very different. This discovery leads to the question, 'What is a Vowel?' All the pupils that have not been at the game before will be quite ready to say that the vowels are *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*, and sometimes *y*, so that we must clear our way by deciding what we mean by a vowel sound, and what the difference is between a sound and a letter. This can be done largely by questions to the pupils to lead them to try to observe the differences for themselves. The ground being cleared, we proceed to put a penholder between the teeth and push it gradually back in the mouth, to see where the tongue is when we try to say the sound, *u*.[1] The result usually surprises them, and another surprise follows when they in the same way discover where it is for *i*. Starting with that as a basis, we can begin to draw on the board rough diagrams of sections of the mouth showing the positions of the tongue for the *u*-sounds, *o*-sounds, *a*-sounds, *e*-sounds, and *i*-sounds. So much for the tongue. On watching his neighbour or his teacher, each pupil can see at once that each sound so far discussed has a different position for the lips as well as for the tongue. With this much knowledge we can already build up part of the scheme of vowel sounds given in the form:—



The meaning of the particular shape given to the scheme is grasped at once. So far no new signs have been introduced. We then investigate two such words as French *rose* and *robe*. We see that though both contain what we shall call *o*-sounds, the same letter means two different things. If, then, we want to be able to write down the pronunciation of these two words we must have two different signs. The two chosen *o* and ɔ are written on the board and compared in shape. One is open at the side. On pronouncing the two sounds it is easily noticeable that the mouth has to be more open for one than for the other. Here, then, is introduced the distinction between open and closed sounds. Instead of using the one sign *o* we must now replace it by the two, *o* and ɔ. In the same way the *a* is split into *a* and ɑ, the *e* into ɛ and *e*. Having now arrived at a complete series of what may be called consecutive sounds, let the pupils appreciate that they are a consecutive series by trying whether it is easier to pronounce them in order or dodging about from one place to another in the series. This helps them to appreciate in a slight degree something of the movements of the tongue in the mouth, and though only in a slight degree, yet far more than ever previously.

The next advance is to the mixed sounds. The suggestion is made that it would be interesting to see what the result would be if we try to make a mixture of *u* and *i*. Let us try to produce some sound by putting the lips for *u* and the tongue for *i*. The pupils will perhaps hesitate to make any sound with the mouth in this strange position. When they do bring themselves to try, the result is in the majority of cases very passably correct. This is done without pronouncing the sound beforehand to the class. The object of the experiment is partly to show them the value of knowing *how* to produce a sound. If they forget the sound they can get back to it from their knowledge of the method of its formation. From this time on, the correct production of this difficult French *y* is a matter that depends on the energy of the pupil. He knows how to do it, but will he make the necessary effort? He will want to be kept up to the mark. He must be made to realise that it is necessary to make a very real effort to produce these new sounds so apparently similar and yet so different from our own. In the same way that we have dealt with the mixed sound *y*, so we deal with the other two, ɸ and œ.

The nasal sounds are next taken. These

[1] Italic letters are the A. F. symbols.

may be developed in the same way as the mixed sounds. Without the sound being first pronounced to the class we try what the result is of starting with, say, *ɔ* and trying to pronounce it through the nose. Here again the result is, as a rule, very passable. Naturally, after the pupils have tried and seen that by mere theory, so to say, it is possible to arrive at something nearly correct, the sound is pronounced to them and they repeat in chorus or individually as the case seems to require.

By this time our vowel scheme is complete, and we see that though there are five vowel letters there are very many more vowel sounds.

Before proceeding to reading or writing anything in the phonetic script, it is necessary to advert to a few consonantal sounds and signs, *e.g.* *ʃ* and *ʒ*. A comparison of pairs of sounds, such as *d* and *t*, soon leads to the discovery of the voice element in one of them. The same relation is found to exist in the pair *ʃ*, *ʒ*. The shape of the signs helps us to remember the meaning of them, as being similar to *s* and *z*.

Up to the present the work with the class has been more perhaps of the nature of a lecture in which they take part as helpers and experimenters. Now we must get to work, to put into practice what we have been talking about. Passy's *Premier Livre de Lecture* is given round. The first page of phonetic writing is soon run through. This furnishes, too, an opportunity for calling attention to slight differences that there are in the manner of printing and writing the new signs that we have learnt.

The above work will have taken about two hours, two lessons that is. No preparation has been allowed to come in between, for the reason that the pupils in this low class do not make sufficient progress in the one hour for them to be able to prepare anything with advantage. Now, however, they can be set to copy a page of the *Premier Livre*, that is, to copy into the writing forms the printed forms of the book. At the same time they are to try to practise the pronunciation of the phonetically written words. They must not rely on the French words on the opposite page to give them the pronunciation of the phonetic signs. This will occupy them for an hour's preparation. In the next lesson this work is gone over. A further useful exercise consists in the teacher pronouncing single sounds such as the *o* or *ɔ*, or the *e* or *ɛ*, to see if they are yet able to distinguish them. This helps to sharpen their ears. Then we may take another page of harder words in Passy. The work for the next preparation may be to prepare the reading of one of the pages towards the end of the book, using the phonetic page as the clue to the pronunciation of the French spelling on the right-hand page. This is to be read at the next lesson without having the phonetic page to refer to. Perhaps half of the page will have been read to them, they repeating it, before they are left to it in preparation.

Thus they have the two parts of phonetics, so to say, ready for use. The general principles tell *how* to produce the right sounds, and the phonetic script serves to remind the pupil *when* he is to pronounce this or that sound. The value of this phonetic script in preparation or revision work is great. No one who has tried the two methods, that of relying on the pupil's memory, and that of giving him the phonetic script to help him to remember, would care to give up the use of the script. The pupils themselves recognise its value.

Now let us see how we can use the phonetic script in the work of the term. The book used in the class is one of Wilke-Dénervaud's[1] series of booklets adapted to the Hölzel pictures. These were selected as being a sort of compromise between the old method and the extreme reform school. They are better adapted to the age of the boys in the class than some of the other books of similar stamp. At the commencement of each there is a list of words of the chief objects appearing in the particular picture. These are gone through as follows. The books are shut. Some five or six of the objects are pointed to on the wall-picture and the names of each pronounced by the teacher and repeated by the class in chorus. A little practice enables the teacher to catch among the chorus some cases of careless or insufficiently good pronunciation. These pupils can be taken individually and made to pronounce more carefully. When some five or six words have been taken in this way the phonetic representation of them is written on the board. This is copied in note-books. Then the pupils read from their note-book copy of the script. Then the printed books are opened and the word is seen for the first time in its ordinary French spelling. The pupils try to pronounce from their recollection of what they have just been

[1] *Anschauungs-Unterricht im Französischen.* Wilke-Dénervaud, published by Oskar Gerhard, Leipzig and Vienna. 45 pf. each part, with coloured reproduction of the Hölzel picture.

pronouncing. If a pupil has forgotten, he refers to the phonetic script to remind himself. Naturally the pronunciation needs constant correction. But the value of the script, when the pupils come to learn or revise these or other words of which they have taken down the pronunciation, is very great. Experiment has shown on various occasions that when set to learn a piece by heart it is learned much more accurately when they are given the phonetic script of it, than when they are left to their own light of nature.

The above account of work and results must not be taken as intended to convey the idea that by the amount of phonetics used the ordinary boy is converted at once from a boy with an English pronunciation to an unmistakable Parisian. Far from it; constant patience and correction is necessary. It is only claimed that the work is on surer footing and consequently attains better results and sooner than by the old method.

It may not be amiss to point out for the benefit of any who are still sceptical of the use of a phonetic script, that any one who uses a pronouncing dictionary in any language is at once using a phonetic script, and using for himself, often in connection with his mother-tongue, the same aid that many are using now to aid their classes in foreign tongues.

Now we may turn our attention for a short time to the way in which phonetics is introduced to the higher classical set. These boys have, of course, more general knowledge of French pronunciation than the young boys in the low modern set. Here, then, it is of use more as an aid in correction. In this set, too, the boys are a less changing quantity, inasmuch as they prepare for the Joint Board examination, and spend the year doing it. At the commencement of the year an hour's lecture in French is given on the general ideas previously explained in connection with the lower set. As the boys are of a higher intelligence less time is needed to make things clear to them. The first hour suffices to get our vowel scheme complete, and to introduce the few consonant signs necessary. Then Passy's *L'Écriture Phonétique* is given round. A few sentences are read to them, they pronouncing quietly in chorus perhaps. They prepare some of the script for the next lesson, by which time they are able to read slowly and with an approach to accuracy the piece they have been preparing or a piece they have not prepared. Here, again, it must not be supposed that their pronunciation is changed in an hour from an Anglican to a Parisian. But they have understood how some of the difficult sounds are to be produced, so that if they pronounce them badly wrong afterwards, it is more a case of won't than can't. They have also a means to hand for noting down the pronunciation of words that present particular difficulty. They cannot, of course, read the phonetic script with anything that could be called fluency. But how many of us can read the pronunciation signs in our own English dictionaries with fluency? A boy out of this classical class asked if he could have a second copy of Passy's *L'Écriture Phonétique* to send home to a relative who was studying French, as he thought it such an excellent help for pronunciation.

If this short article serves to help any others working in the same field, or to call forth beneficial criticisms, the author's time will not have been wasted in writing it.

HAROLD W. ATKINSON.

ENGLISH EDUCATION EXHIBITION.

THE English Education Exhibition was held at the Imperial Institute from the 5th to the 27th January 1900. His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales graciously consented to open the Exhibition. The exhibition was arranged in the following Five Main Divisions:—(1) Education, as controlled by School Boards and Boards of Managers of Public Elementary Schools, together with Training Colleges for Teachers in Primary Schools: (2) Secondary Education, including (*a*) Boys' Preparatory Schools, (*b*) Private Schools, Girls and Boys, (*c*) Endowed and Proprietary Schools for Girls, (*d*) Endowed, Proprietary, Grammar and Public Schools for Boys, (*e*) Secondary Training Colleges: (3) Technical Education, with Schools of Art: (4) University and Higher Education: (5) Educational Institutions and other bodies, not falling under any of the above heads.

The exhibits were intended to represent the education of the present day, and also to illustrate the history and traditions of

education. One great feature of the exhibition was the number of specimens of the work of pupils and students, in art and in manual and artistic crafts, and also in ordinary literary training. Under the latter head were comprised sets of ordinary exercises and note-books, and also examination papers, illustrative of the actual work done in the different schools and colleges represented. The exhibition also included a number of portraits and busts of great historical and artistic interest, representing many of the great men and women who have been identified with educational progress, and also a number of antiquarian treasures from the Great Public Schools. The exhibition was supported most warmly and generously by the great institutions of the country.

Arrangements were made by many educational bodies for holding a series of meetings, conferences and lectures on educational subjects at the Imperial Institute during the period of the exhibition.

Another section of the exhibition was devoted to the display of the works of educational publishers and commercial firms connected with education.

FROM HERE AND THERE.

THE Modern Language Association was represented by Mr. H. W. Eve at the Ninth Neuphilologentag, held in Leipzig. His interesting account of the meeting will be found in another column.

* * * * *

We have received from Dr. Breul a copy of the pamphlet which he has dedicated to the Neuphilologentag. It contains suggestions for establishing in London a *Reichsinstitut für Lehrer des Englischen*. Such an institute would undoubtedly be valuable, but would it not be more so, were it to form part of a larger and more comprehensive scheme for the encouragement of modern language study? We may very likely be more explicit in a future number.

* * * * *

A sub-committee, consisting of Messrs. Storr, Milner-Barry, Siepmann, Eve, A. T. Pollard, and G. C. Steel, has been appointed to carry out the proposal made at the General Meeting of the M.L.A. by Mr. Milner-Barry and seconded by Mr. Storr, 'that the M.L.A. should try to draw up a time-table suited to schools, and giving a fair proportion of time to English, and French and German.' If the sub-committee had been less carefully selected, some apprehension might be felt as to the probable result of their deliberations; as it is, we look forward with the keenest interest to the report which they will present to the Association. Their task is a very formidable one; it is unlikely enough that they will evolve 'a time-table for schools'; but a number of minor difficulties will have to be considered, and many will be solved. It will then be necessary to convince our head-masters of the sweet reasonableness of our wishes: and of course they will yield to them without a murmur.

* * * * *

Twenty-four new members have joined the Modern Language Association since January. The number would no doubt be larger, if the *Modern Language Quarterly* (we have returned to the old name) had been available. We hope in future to appear with beautiful regularity, once in each of the three quarters of the school and university year. The bibliographical list will not be dropped, as had been thought advisable at the time of the annual meeting of the Association, but will appear in two numbers every year, and will correspond to the spring and autumn publishing seasons.

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The list of books in the present number includes the new publications and reviews of a whole year; hence the appalling dimensions to which it has attained. Mr. Rippmann has received help from Mr. Wm. Watson of Glasgow, who supplied the references to reviews in the *Academy*; from Mr. Roger Smart of the School for the Sons of Missionaries, Blackheath, who supplied the references to reviews in the *Saturday Review*, and from Mr. Nutt, who kindly supplied a number of particulars which were difficult to obtain. Mr. Rippmann will gladly avail himself of further offers of help; the work is somewhat arduous.

* * * * *

In March the welcome announcement was made that Dr. Breul and Dr. Braunholtz had been appointed Readers in

Germanic and Romance at the University of Cambridge. All their old pupils, and indeed all those interested in the study of Modern Languages in England, will be gratified at this recognition of their good and conscientious work, and will only regret that it should not have been recognised in a more liberal fashion. That they ought to have been made professors some time ago is quite obvious. But the older universities move very slowly.

* * * * *

To Dr. Breul, we believe, belongs the credit of having first suggested what has at length become a reality: an examination in spoken French and spoken German, separate from the Modern and Medieval Languages Tripos. The regulations state:

> The examination in each language shall include (*a*) dictation, (*b*) reading aloud, and (*c*) conversation. Every candidate shall be required to satisfy the examiners in each of the three sections (*a*), (*b*), and (*c*).
>
> The subjects for conversation shall be taken mainly from a book or books to be from time to time prescribed by the Board.

We gather from the *Journal of Education* the following particulars of Holiday Courses suitable for Modern Language teachers:—

Bonn (Aug. 6-18). German language. (Ladies only.) Apply to Frl. J. Gottschalk, Hofgartenstrasse 7, Bonn. (For advanced students.)

Caen (Aug. 1-30). 'Alliance Française' French Courses. Apply to Mr. Walter Robins, B.Sc., 9 Northbrook Road, Lee, S.E.

Edinburgh (Aug.) Modern languages. Apply to Secretary, Outlook Tower, Castlehill, Edinburgh.

Elbeuf (Aug. 3-28). French. Apply to Secretary, Teachers' Guild, 74 Gower Street, W.C.

Geneva (July 17—Aug. 28). French, Advanced Course. Apply to M. Bernard Bouvier, Bourg-de-Four 10, Geneva.

Greifswald (July 19—Aug. 4). German and French. Apply to Feriencurse, Greifswald.

Jena (Aug. 6-25). Pedagogy, Modern Languages, etc. Apply to Frau Dr. Schuettger, Gartenstrasse 2, Jena.

Lausanne (July 19—Aug. 29). History, Literature, Philology, etc. Apply to M. J. Bonnard, Avenue Davel 4, Lausanne.

Lisieux (Aug. 3-28). French. Apply to Secretary, Teachers' Guild, 74 Gower Street, W.C.

Marburg (First Course, July 8-28; Second Course, Aug. 5-25). Pedagogy, Modern Languages, etc. Apply to W. G. Lipscomb, Esq., University College School, Gower Street, W.C.

Neuchâtel (July 16—Aug. 11, and Aug. 13—Sept. 8). Apply to M. P. Dessoulavy, Académie de Neuchâtel.

Paris (July 2-31; Aug. 1-31). French. Apply to Monsieur le Secrétaire, l'Alliance Française, Rue de Grenelle 45, Paris.

Tours (Aug. 3-24). Apply to Secretary, Teachers' Guild, 74 Gower Street, W.C.

* * * * *

Some of our readers may be disinclined to spend part of their holiday abroad, on account of the inkspattering of certain journalists of the baser sort, which has led to misapprehension as to the actual state of feeling on the Continent. We have received the following letter from a member of the M.L.A., which confirms our own belief, that the Holiday Courses will be as enjoyable as in previous years, and that only those will expose themselves to unpleasantness, who go out of their way to provoke retaliation.

> Sir,—If any of your readers are thinking of joining in a Holiday Course at Marburg this year, but are wavering for fear of experiencing the alleged ill-treatment abroad, I should like to reassure them. I have been here since January and have found all the time that kindness and courtesy to which we English have grown so accustomed in our visits here. It seems to me to lie entirely with oneself whether one will enjoy to the full the intellectual and other delights, especially those phonetic and æsthetic, which make this place so peculiarly attractive.—Yours truly,
>
> E. H. Arkwright.
>
> Marburg i. H.,
> *June* 1, 1900.

* * * * *

The regrettable misunderstandings fostered by a section of the Press should not be allowed to interfere with the missionary work of the Modern Language teacher; now, if ever, it is his duty to counteract the insidious influences, which cunningly utilise the element of unreasoning Jingoism that is usually the direct outcome of ignorance of the language and mode of thought of our neighbours on the Continent.

* * * * *

The Teachers' Guild has again arranged for Holiday Courses in France, which we trust will be largely attended. We have received reports of the courses held at Lisieux and Tours last year. From these it appears that the attendance was very satisfactory indeed, and that a creditable amount of work was done. The accounts show a slight balance on the right side. The Committee were therefore justified in repeating the courses at Lisieux and Tours; as will be seen from the list above, a course will also be opened at Elbeuf, on the Seine, near Rouen. Full particulars can be obtained from the Secretary of the Teachers' Guild.

A CLASSIFIED LIST OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS,

WITH REVIEWS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS,

June 1st 1899 to May 31st 1900.

COMPILED BY WALTER RIPPMANN.

Reference is made to the following journals: *Acad.* (The Academy), *Archiv* (Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen und Litteraturen), *Athen.* (The Athenæum), The *Bookman*, *Camb. Rev.* (Cambridge Review), *Educ. News* (Educational News), *Educ. Rec.* (Educational Record), *Educ. Rev.* (English) Educational Review, *Educ. Rev. Amer.* (The [American] Educational Review), *Educ. Times* (Educational Times), The *Glasgow Herald*, The *Guardian*, *Journ. Educ.* (The Journal of Education), *Journ. Ped.* (The Journal of Pedagogy), *L.g.r.P.* (Litteraturblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie), *Lit.* (Literature), *Lit. Cbl.* (Litterarisches Centralblatt), *Literary World*, *M.F.* (Le Maître Phonétique), *Mind*, *Mod. Lang. Notes* (Modern Language Notes, America), *Neuphil. Cbl.* (Neuphilologisches Centralblatt), *Notes and Queries*, *Neu. Spr.* (Neuere Sprachen), *Oxford Magazine*, *Pract. Teach.* (The Practical Teacher), *Public School Magazine*, *Rev. Hist.* (Revue Historique), *Rev. Intern. Ens.* (Revue Internationale de l'Enseignement), *Rev. Univ.* (Revue Universitaire), *S.R.* (Saturday Review), *School Board Chron.* (School Board Chronicle), *School Guard.* (School Guardian), *Schoolmaster*, *School Rev.* (School Review), *School World*, *Scotsman*, *Scottish Review*, *Speaker*, *Spect.* (The Spectator), *St. James's Gazette*, *Teachers' Aid*, *The New Age*, *Univ. Corr.* (The University Correspondent), *Univ. Extens.* (The University Extension Journal), *Z.f.d.A.* (Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum), *Z.f.d.P.* (Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie), *Z.f.d.U.* (Zeitschrift für den deutschen Unterricht), *Z.f.I.S.* (Zeitschrift für Indogermanische Sprach- u. Altertumskunde).

Guide I. (No. 1-184, June 1896) and *Guide* II. (No. 1-157, December 1896): Nos. 1 and 2 of the *Modern Language Teachers' Guide*, edited by WALTER RIPPMANN, copies of which (price 4d., by post 4½d.) can be obtained on application to the Editor of the *Modern Quarterly*.

M. L. Q., '97, No. 1-243: Items in the Classified List in the *Modern Language Quarterly*, No. 1 (July 1897).

M. L. Q., '97, No. 244-423: Items in the Classified List in the *Modern Language Quarterly*, No. 2 (November 1897).

M. Q., '98, No. 1-204: Items in the Classified List in the *Modern Quarterly*, No. 1 (Mrch 1898).

M. Q., '98, No. 205-459: Items in the Classified List in the *Modern Quarterly*, No. 2 (July 1898).

M. Q., '98, No. 460-903: Items in the Classified List in the *Modern Quarterly*, No. 3 (Nov. 1898).

M. Q., '99, No. 1-702: Items in the Classified List in the *Modern Quarterly*, No. 5 (Aug. 1899).

ENGLISH.

A.—LITERATURE.—I. TEXTS.

Addison's Spectator, etc., Selections from. With Introduction by Mrs. BARBAULD. Edited by Mrs. HERBERT MARTIN. Blackie. 1899. 7×5 in., pp. 225; 1s. 1

M. Q., '99, No. 1; *Journ. Educ.*, July '99, p. 433; *Acad.*, 16 Sept. '99; *Educ. Rev.*, June '99, p. 393.

Bacon. Essays, Colours of Good and Evil, Advancement of Learning. Macmillan. 1900. 8vo, 9⅛×5¾ in.; pp. 434; 3s. 6d. net. 2

Guardian, 10 Jan. '00; *Lit.*, 20 Jan. '00.

—— **The New Atlantis.** Edited by A. T. FLUX. Macmillan. 6¾×4½ in., pp. xv+63; 1s. 3

Journ. Educ., Feb. '00, p. 149; *Educ. Rev.*, Oct. '99, p. 673; *School World*, Nov. '99, p. 436; *Educ. News*, 11 Nov. '99.

Berkeley. Selections. By Professor A. CAMPBELL FRASER, D.C.L. With Introduction and Notes. Clarendon Press. 5th edition, amended. Cr. 8vo, pp. xlviii+336; 7s. 6d. 4

Guardian, 1 Jan. '00.

Robert Browning. Select Poems. Edited by E. H. BLAKENEY, M.A. Blackie. 6½×4½ in., pp. 32; paper, 2d.; cloth, 3d. 5

Journ. Educ., May '00, p. 335.

Representative Poem of Burns, and Carlyle's Essay on Burns. By C. L. HANSON. Ginn & Co. 1899. , pp. 189; 2s. 6

Byron. Works. New edition enlarged. Illustrations, Letters, and Journals. Vol. 3. Edited by ROWLAND E. PROTHERO. Murray. 1899. 8vo, 8⅝×5⅜ in., pp. xvi+453; 6s. 7

Acad., 12 Aug. '99; *Lit.*, 8 July '99, p. 7; vol. i. cp. *M. Q.*, '99, No. 465; vol. ii. cp. *M. Q.*, '99, No. 5.

Byron. The Works of. A new, revised, and enlarged edition, with illustrations. Poetry, vol. 2. Edited by ERNEST HARTLEY COLERIDGE. Murray. 6s. 8

Bookman, July '99, p. 104; *Lit.*, 10 June '99, p. 594; vol. i. cp. *M. Q.*, '98, No. 464.

The Prisoner of Chillon by Lord Byron. Kritischer Text mit Einleitung und Anmerkungen hrsg. von EUGEN KÖLBING. 1898. Pp. xxiv+97; 1 m.60. 9

L. g. r. Ph., Dec. '99, p. 402.

Coleridge, A Facsimile Reproduction of the Proofs and MSS. of some of the Poems of. Edited by the late J. DYKES CAMPBELL. With Preface and Notes by W. HALE WHITE. Constable. Fcap. 8vo, pp. 134; 6s. net. 10

Athen., 12 Aug. '99, p. 213.

—— **The Rime of the Ancient Mariner.** Gay & Bird, 5s. 11

Bookman, March '00, p. 196.

—— **Ancient Mariner, Kubla Khan, and Christabel.** Edited, with Notes and Introduction, by T. F. HUNTINGTON. 1899. Pp. 109; 1s. 12

Collins, William, The Poems of. Edited by WALTER C. BRONSON, M.A. Ginn. 7¼×4¾ in., pp. lxxxv+135; 4s. 13

Journ. Educ., Feb. '00, p. 147.

Cowper, Selections from. Edited by Professor MURRAY, Princeton University. 4s. 6d. 14

Lit., 17 June '99, p. 630.

—— **The Task, and Minor Poems.** By ELIZABETH LEE. Blackwood. 1900. , pp. xxxiii+283; 2s. 6d. 15

G. Crabbe. Poems: a Selection. Edited by BERNARD HOLLAND. E. Arnold. 1899. Cr. 8vo, 7¾×5¼ in., pp. 406; 6s. 16

Acad., 14 April '00, p. 311.

De Quincey. Confessions of an English Opium-Eater. Edited by G. A. WAUCHOPE, M.A., Ph.D. Isbister. 6½×4½ in., pp. xxiv+243; 1s. 6d. 17
M. Q., '99, No. 11; *Journ. Educ.*, Jan. '00, p. 44.

Samuel Daniel and Michael Drayton, A Selection from the Poetry of. With an Introduction and Notes by the Rev. H. C. BEECHING. Dent. Cr. 8vo, pp. 195; 3s. 6d. net. 18
Athen., 16 Sept. '99, p. 379; *Lit.* 15 July '99, p. 35; *Acad.*, 19 Aug. '99.

John Donne, The Life and Letters of. Now for the first time revised and collected by EDMUND GOSSE. Heinemann. 2 vols., demy 8vo. Vol. 1, pp. 320; vol. 2, pp. 289; 24s. 19
Acad., 4 Nov. '99, p. 505; *Bookman*, Dec. '99, p. 79.

Dryden Essays. Selected and edited by W. P. KER, M.A. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 2 vols. Extr. fcap. 8vo, pp. lxxx+648; 10s. 6d. 20

Dryden. *See* **British Anthologies**, No. 126. 21

—— **The Hind and the Panther.** With Introduction and Notes by W. H. WILLIAMS, M.A. Macmillan. Globe 8vo, pp. 134; 2s. 6d. 22
Athen., 7 April '00, p.430; *School World*, April '00, p. 151; *Educ. Times*, March '00; *Schoolmaster*, 3 March '00.

—— **Palamon and Arcite.** Edited by W. H. CRAWSHAW, M.A. Isbister. 6½×4½ in., pp. 149; 1s. 23
Journ. Educ., Aug. '99, p. 513.

Earle, J. Microcosmography; or, a Piece of the World discovered in Essays and Characters. Dent. 1899. 6⅛×4⅞ in., pp. 190; 1s. 6d. net; roan, 2s. net. 24
Bookman, Dec. '99, p. 100.

Emerson's Select Essays and Poems. Edited by EVA MARCH TAPPAN. Boston, Allyn & Bacon. 1898. Pp. 128; 30 cts. 25

Fielding's Tom Thumb. Mit Einleitung hrsg. von FELIX LINDER. Berlin, Emil Felber. 1899. Englische Textbibliothek, hrsg. von JOHANNES HOOPS. Pp. viii+111; 1 m. 60. 26
L. g. r. P., Oct. '99, p. 338.

John Gay's Singspiele. Mit Einleitung und Anmerkungen neu hrsg. v. GREGOR SARRAZIN. Weimar, E. Felber. 1898. Pp. xxxii+209; 3 m. 27
L. g. r. P., Dec. '99, p. 402.

Goldsmith's Traveller. By EVANS. Simpkins. Roy. 16mo, 8×6½ in., pp. 64; 1s. 4d. 28

—— **Traveller. Helps to the Study of.** By M. GOMPERTZ. Ralph Holland. 1899. Cr. 8vo, 7¼×4⅞ in., pp. 74; limp 1s. 29

—— **Traveller, Deserted Village, and other Poems.** By J. H. LOBBAN, M.A. Blackwood. 1900. , pp. xlvii+120; 1s. 6d. 30

—— **The Vicar of Wakefield.** With Notes and Introduction by WILLIAM HENRY HUDSON. Isbister. 6½×4½ in., pp. xxxiii+264; 2s. 31
Journ. Educ., Jan. '00, p. 44.

John Gower, The Complete Works of. Edited from the MSS., with Introductions, Notes, and Glossaries, by G. C. MACAULAY, M.A. In four volumes. Vol. 1. The French Works. Clarendon Press. 8vo, pp. lxxxviii+564; 16s. 32
Acad., 3 March '00, p. 180; *Scottish Rev.*, April '00; *Notes and Queries*, 20 Jan. '00.

Leigh Hunt's Essays, Helps to the Study of. By C. D. PUNCHARD, B.A. Macmillan. 6¾×4¾ in., pp. 115; 1s. 6d. 33
Journ. Educ., Feb. '00, p. 148. *School World*, Oct. '99, p. 398; *Educ. Rev.*, Nov. '99, p. 745; *School Guardian*, 14 Oct. '99; *Educ. News*, 16 Sept. '99.

Johnson. Life of Dryden, and Life of Pope. Edited by PETER PETERSON, D.Sc. Macmillan. 6¾×4¾ in.; 2s. 6d. each. Dryden, pp. xvi, 185; Pope, pp. xvi, 200. 34
Journ. Educ., Feb. '00, p. 148. *School World*, March '00, p. 151; *Educ. Rev.*, Jan. '00, p. 60; *Schoolmaster*, 25 Nov. '99; *Guardian*, 10 Jan. '00; *Univ. Corr.*, 3 Feb. '00.

—— **Life of Dryden.** By PETER PETERSON. Macmillan. 1899. Cr. 8vo, 7×4¾ in., pp. xiv+202; 2s. 6d. 35
Teachers' Aid., 2 Dec. '99.

Keats, John. Shorter Poems. Gay & Bird. 2s. 6d. net. 36
Bookman, April '00, p. 32.

—— **Hyperion.** Mit Einleitung hrsg. v. JOHANNES HOOPS. Berlin, Felber. 1899. L. 8vo, pp. 103; 1 m. 60. 37
Lit. Cbl., 20 Jan. '00, col. 154; *L. g. r. P.*, Dec. '99, p. 402.

Thomas Kyd. The Spanish Tragedy. Edited by J. SCHICK. Dent. 1898. 5×4 in., pp. 146; cloth 1s., leather 1s. 6d. 38
Archiv, '99, No. 3-4, p. 385; *Athen.*, Aug. 5, '99, p. 203.

C. Lamb. Adventures of Ulysses, adapted from G. Chapman's Translation of Odyssey. Edited by E. E. SPEIGHT. H. Marshall. 1900. Cr. 8vo, 7½ in.×4¾ in., pp. 116; 10d. net. 39

Macaulay's Lays of Ancient Rome. Edited by M. G. DANIELL. Edward Arnold. 7¼×4¾ in., pp. xvi+145; 1s. 6d. 40
Journ. Educ., Jan. '00, p. 47.

—— **The Life and Writings of Addison.** With Notes and Appendix by R. F. WINCH, M.A. Macmillan. 1898. Globe 8vo, pp. 220; 2s. 6d. 41
M. Q., '99, No. 21; *Journ. Educ.*, July '99, p. 433.

—— **Essay on Lord Clive.** Edited by JOHN DOWNIE, M.A. Blackie. 1900. 7×4¾ in., pp. xxiv+190; 2s. 42
Educ. Times, May '00, p. 222; *Univ. Corr.*, 2 June '00; *Guardian*, 2 May '00.

—— **Frederic the Great.** By A. T. FLUX. Macmillan. 1899. 6¾×4½ in., pp. xviii+127; 1s. 6d. 43
Journ. Educ., Feb. '00, p. 149; *Educ. Times*, Mar. '00, p. 145; *School World*, Nov. '99, p. 436; *School Guardian*, 16 Sept. '99; *Educ. Rev.*, Nov. '99, p. 745.

—— **Essay on Johnson.** By D. NICHOL SMITH, M.A. Blackwood. 1900. , pp. xlviii+104; 2s. 6d. 44

—— **Essay on Milton.** Edited by H. B. COTTERILL, M.A. Macmillan. 1899. 6¾×4¾ in., pp. xxvi+179; 2s. 6d. 45
M. Q., '99, No. 24; *Journ. Educ.*, Aug. '99, p. 513; *Lit.*, 22 July '99, p. 69; *Schoolmaster*, 22 July '99.

—— **Essay on Milton.** Edited by J. DOWNIE, M.A. Blackie. 7×4¾ in., pp. xxxvi, 114; 2s. 46
M. Q., '99, No. 25; *Journ. Educ.*, Aug. '99, p. 513; *Educ.*, 27 May '99, p. 200; *Lit.*, 22 July '99, p. 69; *Educ. Rev.*, June '99, p. 392; *Oxford Magazine*, 31 May '99.

—— **Essay on Milton.** Edited by J. H. FLATHER, M.A. Cambridge University Press. Fcp. 8vo, pp. xxviii+122; 1s. 6d. 47
Educ. Times, 1 Dec. '99, p. 514; *School World*, Dec. '99, p. 474; *Bookman*, Dec. '99, p. 98.

—— **Essays on William Pitt, Earl of Chatham.** By R. F. WINCH, M.A. Macmillan. 12mo, pp. 240; 2s. 6d. 48
M. Q., '99, No. 27; *Journ. Educ.*, July '99, p. 433; *Educ. News*, 10 Dec. '98.

—— **The Lays of Ancient Rome, and other Poems.** Edited by J. H. FLATHER, M.A. Cambridge University Press. 1899. Ex. fcap. 8vo, pp. 198; 1s. 6d. 49
M. Q., '99, No. 26; *Acad.*, 16 Sept. '99.

—— **The Lay of Virginia.** Edited by D. NICHOL SMITH, M.A. Blackie & Son. Pp. 24; paper 2d., cl. 3d. 50

Macaulay. Essay on Horace Walpole. Edited by JOHN DOWNIE. Blackie. 1900. 7½×4¾ in., pp. 170; 2s. 51

Spect., 24 Feb. '00; *Outlook*, 3 March '00.

Milton. Paradise Lost. Books I, II. Edited by H. P. CORNISH. Simpkin. 7¼×4⅞ in., pp. 100; 1s. 6d. 52

—— **Paradise Lost.** Books I.-IV. By J. LOGIE ROBERTSON, M.A. Blackwood. 1900. 7¼×4¾ in., pp. xl+178; 2s. 6d. 53

—— **The Poetical Works of.** Edited, after the Original Texts, by the Rev. H. C. BEECHING, M.A., Balliol College, Oxford; Clark Lecturer at Trinity College, Cambridge. Clarendon Press. Cr. 8vo, pp. 560, 3s. 6d.; on Oxford India paper, 8s. (with original spelling and punctuation). Also in one vol. 32mo, modern spelling, Oxford India paper, 3s. 6d. 54

Athen., 31 March '00, p. 398; *Lit.*, 16 Mar. '00; *Notes and Queries*, 10 Mar. '00.

—— **Complete Poetic and Dramatic Works of.** Cambridge ed. Edited by WM. VAUGHAN MOODY. With Introductions to the longer Poems, Notes, Translations of Milton's Latin Poems, Indexes to Titles and First Lines, and a Biographical Sketch. (Boston) London. Cr. 8vo, pp. ; 9s. 55

—— **Minor Poems, Facsimile of the Manuscript of,** preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge. Cambridge University Press. 56

Athen., 10 Feb. '00, p. 174; *Guardian*, 24 Jan. '00; *Camb. Rev.*, 16 Nov. '99.

Pope. *See* **British Anthologies**, No. 126. 57

—— **(A.). Essay on Man** (Epistles 1, 2). By T. W. BERRY and T. P. MARSHALL. Simpkin. 7×4¾ in., pp. 80; 1s. 58

—— **Essay on Criticism.** Edited by F. RYLAND. Blackie. 7×4¾ in., pp. lxvi+53; 1s. 6d. 59

Athen., 7 Apr. '00, p. 430; *Educ. Times*, Apr. '00, p. 180; *Univ. Corr.*, 2 June '00; *Outlook*, 31 March '00.

—— **The Iliad of Homer.** Books I., VI., XXII., and XXIV. Edited by Prof. PAUL SHOREY, Ph.D. Illustrated. Isbister. Sm. cr. 8vo, pp. 176; 1s. 6d. 60

—— **Rape of the Lock.** Edited by F. RYLAND, M.A. Blackie. 7×4¾ in., pp lv+47; 1s. 6d. 61

Journ. Educ., May '00, p. 338; *Educ. Times*, Dec. '99, p. 514; *Acad.*, 20 Jan. '00, p. 56; *Guardian*, 10 Jan. '00; *Univ. Corr.*, 26 May '00.

Scott, Sir W. Ivanhoe. Edited by J. HIGHAM. Black. 1899. 7×4¾ in., pp. xxiv+216; 1s. net. 62

School World, May '00, p. 189; *Bookman*, Apr. '00, p. 32; *Educ. Rev.*, Oct. '99, p. 672.

—— **Ivanhoe.** Edited by C. E. THEODOSIUS, M.A. Oxford, Clarendon Press. Extr. fcap. 8vo, pp. xvi+476; 2s. 63

—— **Ivanhoe.** Abridged for Schools. Bell. 1900. Cr. 8vo, 7×4½ in., pp. 216; 1s. 64

—— **Marmion, Notes on.** By EVANS. Simpkin. Roy. 16mo, 8×6½ in., pp. 96; 1s. 6d. 65

—— **Marmion. Canto III.** Edited by W. KEITH LEASK, M.A. 6½×4½ in., pp. 40; 3d. 66

Journ. Educ., May '00, p. 335.

—— **Marmion. Canto VI.** Edited by M. MACMILLAN. Macmillan. 1899. Globe 8vo, pp. 75; 1s. 67

School World, July '99, p. 275; *School Guardian*, 15 July '99; *Teachers' Aid*, 24 June '99.

Larger Temple Shakespeare. Edited by I. GOLLANCZ. Dent. Cr. 8vo, I, pp. 464; II, pp. 422; III, pp. 484; IV, pp. 405; V, pp. 376; VI, pp. 413; VII, pp. 422; VIII, pp. 449; IX, pp. 464; X, pp. 453; 4s. 6d. net each. 68

Athen., 6 Jan. '00, p. 28.

Whitehall Shakespeare. Vols. XI and XII (completing the work). Edited by H. A. DOUBLEDAY, T. G. FOSTER, and R. ELSON. Constable and Co. Cr. 8vo, XI, pp. 490; XII, pp. 470; cl. 5s., ½-parchment, 6s. 69

Athen., 5 Aug. '99, p. 203.

Shakespeare, The Works of. In 10 volumes. Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by C. H. HERFORD, Litt. D. (Eversley Series.) Macmillan. Cr. 8vo. pp. ; 5s. each vol. 70

Vol I, *M. Q.*, '99, No. 36; *Bookman*, June '99, p. 84; *Univ. Extens.*, March '99, p. 88; Vol. V, *School World*, July '99, p. 275; Vol. VIII, *Bookman*, Oct. '99, p. 34; Vols. VIII to X, *Athen.*, 6 Jan. '00, p. 28; Vol. IX, *School World*, Feb. '00, p. 70.

—— **As You Like It.** Notes by W. DYCHE. Longmans. 1900. Cr. 8vo, 7¼×4⅞ in , pp. 134; 1s. 71

—— **As You Like It.** By R. BRIMLEY JOHNSON. Blackwood. Pp. xxviii+171; 1s. 72

School World, May '00, p. 189; *Educ. Times*, May '00, p. 222.

—— **As You Like It.** Edited by A. W. VERITY, M.A. Cambridge University Press. 6½×4¾ in., pp. lii+256; 1s. 6d. 73

Acad., 20 Jan. '00, p. 56; *Lit.*, 10 Feb. '00; *Guardian*, 10 Jan. '00; *School Guardian*, 13 Jan. '00; *Educ. Times*, Jan. '00, p. 33; *Athen.*, Feb. 3, '00, p. 144; *School World*, Feb. '00, p. 69; *Journ. Educ.*, May '00, p. 332; *Bookman*, Feb. '00, p. 160.

—— **As You Like It.** Questions and Notes. By STANLEY WOOD. (Dinglewood Shakespeare Manuals.) John Heywood. 6½×4 in., pp. 48; 1s. 74

School World, Dec. '99, p. 475; *Journ. Educ.*, Feb. '00, p. 148.

—— **Hamlet.** Edited by EDWARD DOWDEN. Methuen. 8⅛×5⅞ in., pp. 266; 3s. 6d. 75

Bookman, Dec. '99, p. 91; *Educ. Times*, Dec. '99, p. 509; *Athen.*, 6 Jan. '00, p 27; *Acad.*, 25 Nov. '99, p. 600.

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PROFESSOR MAX MÜLLER.

FRIEDRICH MAX MÜLLER, the learned philologist who passed away a few weeks ago in his 77th year, was born at Dessau in 1823. He was first educated in his native town and subsequently at Leipzig, where he graduated in his twentieth year. It was whilst attending the lectures delivered in that famous university that he began the study of Sanskrit under Professor Broekhaus. On quitting Leipzig he repaired to Berlin, with a view to continuing his favourite studies in Oriental lore, and he found in the famous Bopp, and his fellow-professor Schelling, the ablest teachers of the sacred language of India, a language which was henceforth to be for Max Müller an all-absorbing subject of study, and the object of his special pursuit. In 1845 he proceeded to Paris and became the pupil of the illustrious Orientalist, Eugène Burnouf. The latter was quick in discovering in Max Müller a more than ordinary mind, and a scholar of the greatest promise. Aware of the young student's predilections for Sanskrit and Vedic studies, Burnouf advised him to collect materials for an edition of the Vedas, and with this object in view Max Müller left Paris and came to London during the course of the following year. Soon after his arrival he began collating various manuscripts of the Vedas that were in possession of the East India Company, and the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

Bunsen, then Prussian ambassador to the Court of St. James, and himself no mean scholar, interested himself on behalf of Max Müller, and subsequently, on the two-fold recommendation of Bunsen and Professor Wilson, the Directors of the East India Company commissioned Max Müller, in 1847, to edit a complete edition of the *Rig-Veda*, with the commentary of Sâyanâcharya. This stupendous task constituted the great work of Max Müller's life, and it was not brought to a close until 1874. It is hardly necessary to say that this work alone would have immediately placed Max Müller in the foremost rank of Orientalists, for great and learned as are his other literary productions, his edition of the *Rig-Veda* will ever stand as a monument of the highest scholarship.

It is hardly necessary to speak of the honours conferred on Max Müller during the years devoted to the publication of his *magnum opus*, and it will suffice to say that he received, among other marks of distinction, the most coveted title of 'Foreign

Corresponding Member of the Institute of France,' the number of such members being limited to eight. Within the last few years Max Müller's name was added to the list of English Privy Councillors, and honorary degrees were liberally showered upon him.

Of his other works I can only mention a few of the more noteworthy, and must leave unnoticed a mass of writings in the shape of essays which, in themselves, form a not inconsiderable literary baggage.

His first published work was the *Hitopadesa*, which appeared in 1844, and it was indeed no mean performance for so young a scholar. Another edition of the same work was published in England in 1864, and needless to say it is a most excellent one. His lectures on the 'Science of Language,' delivered in the theatre of the Royal Institution, and published between 1861 and 1863, created a veritable sensation in England, and if they did not introduce the Science of Language for the first time to Englishmen, the lucidity of their style, the clearness of the exposition, the golden wrapper with which the most unpalatable things were carefully covered, the wonderful faculty the professor possessed of investing the driest subject with interest, soon rendered philology an eminently popular subject. Sanskrit was no longer a sort of myth, and many—the writer of the present notice among others—were tempted to approach the study of this ancient language through having read those famous lectures on the Science of Language.

In a word, if Max Müller was not the founder of philology in England, he, more than any other scholar, contributed to make it a favourite, and we may almost say popular study.

Equally fine and interesting were his 'Lectures on the Science of Religion' (1870), and his 'Hibbert Lectures,' delivered in the Chapter House of Westminster Abbey during the months of April, May, and June 1878. These lectures, which many of us heard him deliver, were attended by large and appreciative audiences, and so great was then the fame of the lecturer that, during those three months, the Chapter House became the trysting-place of the most brilliant scholars and most eminent scientific men of the day; so great also was the demand for tickets of admission that, in order to satisfy the public, Max Müller consented to deliver each lecture twice. It must, however, be frankly admitted that if this course of lectures attracted so much attention at the time, it was probably owing more to the four volumes of *Chips from a German Workshop* than to any merit of the lecturer as an Oriental scholar; and if the plain truth must be told, the series of 'Hibbert Lectures' disappointed many of the professor's greatest admirers and friends. Their spirit was indeed a little too reactionary, and it seemed as if Max Müller wished unduly to spare the feelings of his quondam adversaries the 'country parsons,' who lost him the Oxford chair of Sanskrit, in 1860, by their adverse vote, scenting as they had in the German scholar a spirit of inquiry and rationalism little in accord with their own narrow ideas. This, however, did not prevent Max Müller from being subsequently (1868) appointed to the chair of Comparative Philology.

My personal acquaintance with the learned professor dates as far back as the seventies. I met Professor Max Müller for the first time in the private office of Mr. Sydney Williams, then head of the well-known publishing firm of Williams and Norgate. It was then I had the great pleasure of being introduced to the professor, and that I learnt a few particulars about him which astonished me greatly, for like many others —although I ought to have known better— I could hardly imagine that there ever was a time when Max Müller, the brilliant English writer, could speak no English at all. Yet it had been so, and the first time he had gone to Messrs. Williams and Norgate to purchase books, he was vainly trying to make himself understood by one of the clerks, when, to his great delight and relief, Mr. Williams, who was an admirable German scholar, came to his timely rescue.

On this occasion Max Müller was delighted to hear that I took great interest in Sanskrit studies, and on leaving Mr. Williams we walked together in the direction of Westminster Abbey, whither the professor was bound, and I left him at Dean Stanley's door. Strange to say, my second interview with him took place in Dean Stanley's study. Subsequently I met the professor pretty often, and even corresponded with him, for I was then translating the *Nalopâkhyânam* for a foreign periodical, and on more than one occasion the professor's help was invaluable to me.

In appearance Professor Max Müller was a man of medium height, well built, and decidedly good-looking. He spoke English with great ease and fluency, yet not exactly like a born Englishman. A slight foreign accent was just perceptible in his utterance, but only in a degree which added a certain piquancy to his speech. When he grew very much interested in a subject he often

betrayed his German origin by stumbling over the W, which he pronounced then in the German way, or occasionally by misplacing the tonic accent. Max Müller laughed at the idea of heing a mere linguist, and he always took pains to undeceive people on that point hy telling them plainly that he spoke but few languages, and that he never aspired to the fame of Cardinal Mezzofanti, for language was for him a 'means' and not an 'end.' He did not helieve either in such persons as the Admirable Crichton who, at the age of sixteen, had mastered ten languages, for he knew too much about languages, was too familiar with the difficulties that heset their study not to know that such statements are in no way warranted hy facts. To speak a few words of a language is a very different thing indeed from having a mastery of it.

It is not generally known that among his other accomplishments Max Müller was a first-rate pianist. He was such a master of the instrument that at one period of his early life he had even thought of devoting his talent to the art of music.

No man ever possessed in a higher degree the faculty of investing a dry and uninviting subject with the deepest interest. No one ever elucidated a difficult point with hetter and more felicitous illustrations, nor knew how to render attractive what, in the hands of a less skilful expositor, would have been, if not utterly repellent, at least so uninviting as to deter all but the most industrious scholar from advancing further than the threshold. Hence our great indehtedness to Max Müller, to whom we must ever be grateful for the spirit of inquiry with whieh he approached every suhject, even that of religion. If we may sometimes regret that a certain spirit of dogmatism occasionally involved him in unpleasant controversies, we must not omit to remember that his attainments often entitled him to speak rather positively,especially on suhjects which had formed the object of a lifelong study. If scholarship loses a great deal by his death, thought is equally a loser, for no one in England has done more to stimulate it, and free it from the trammels of higotry. We may say of him, in almost his own words, what he so feelingly said of his master and friend Eugène Burnouf: that his death will long be mourned, not only hy those who knew him personally, and who had attended his lectures, but hy all who have the interest of Oriental literature and real Oriental scholarship at heart.

LÉON DELBOS.

SPENSER AND PURITANISM.—II.

CALVINISM was from the beginning distinguished by the manner in which it frowned on all lighter amusements. 'While it pleased Luther that a bride should ornament herself on her wedding-day, and be escorted to church with song and music as the custom was, Calvin abolished all such heathen pageantry, and also prohibited dancing.'[1] He ohjected to card-playing, and other amusements of the same kind, and on one occasion put a gamhler in the pillory with a pack of cards slung round his neck.

English Puritanism kept intact all the severities of its founder, and it infected Spenser with its prejudices. He has the poet's love of ornament, hut it must he of a poetic and ideal kind, and he protests vehemently against extravagance in dress. In the House of Holiness he takes care to inform us there were no gorgeous rohes belonging to the seven Beadsmen.

[1] Hagenbach, *History of the Reformation.*

> 'Not rich tyres, nor garments gay,
> The plumes of pride and winges of vanity,
> But clothes meet to keepe keene cold away.'[2]

He casts reflections on the prevailing fashions of his day by picturing them as belonging to the House of Pride. Lucifera's lords and ladies are dressed like Elizabethan courtiers; they spend all their time in adorning themselves for strangers.

> 'Some frounce their curled heare in courtly guise,
> Some prancke their ruffes; and others trimly dight
> Their gay attyre; each others greater pride does spight.'[3]

Spenser hates daneing and fortune-telling, and makes Lechery proficient in both.[4]

[2] *Faery Queen* (I. x. 39).
[3] *Faery Queen* (I. iv. 14).
[4] 'For, he was false and fraught with fickleness,
And learned had to love with secret lookes,
And well could daunce and sing with ruefulnesse,
And fortunes tell and read in loving bookes,
And thousand other ways to bait his fleshy hookes.'—*Faery Queen* (I. iv. 25).

Daneing and fortune-telling are, again, among the means which the Ape uses to recommend himself at court, and Spenser adds sareastically that dancing came very natural to him:

'Onely through kindly aptnes of his joynts.'

He knew many things which stood him in good stead, palmistry and juggling, which with him merged itself into stealing.[1] Masquing, dice, cards and 'billiards farre unfit' are grouped all together contemptuously as 'thriftles games.'[2]

Spenser hates violently the frivolous love-making so characteristie of the courtier of his day. Its arts are all practised by Lechery, and in *Colin Clout's Come Home Again* the court is hopelessly condemned, with its walls and windows writ,

'All full of love and love and love my dearc.'[3]

And yet with all this, he adds, the true love is far from them.

Spenser has no sympathy for the youth of 'the woful ballads made to his mistress' eyebrow.'

Most love-poems meet with his severest condemnation. His wanton lover—Paridell—is accomplished in them and of all kinds, 'bránsles, ballads, virelays.'[4]

This same making of love verses[5] is one more out of the many attractions of the Ape at court.

We can imagine how angrily he would have swept aside most of the Cavalier lyrics.

In the love-poems of his which have come down to us there is nothing of which any man need be ashamed; they all but lose by their immaculateness, and yet he can say of himself:

'Many lewd layes (ah! woe is me the more!)
In praise of that mad fit which fooles call love,
I have in th' heat of youth made heretofore,
That in light wits did loose affection move,
But all these follies now I do reprove.'[6]

It is not only with the frivolities of the court and the fashionable world that Spenser is indignant; he looks with a severe eye on the common amusements of the people.

In the Calender Palinode praises the May games of the shepherds, but Piers, who is the representative of virtue, ealls them follies, fit for 'younkers,' not for men of 'elder wit'; he thinks that shepherds should pass their time sparely, not in feasting and merriment.

There is a hint of the same thing in the *Tears of the Muses*. Terpsichore speaks of

'Blind Error, scornefull Follic, and base Spight,
. . . . . .
They to the vulgar sort now pipe and sing,
And make them merrie with their fooleries.'

But, in addition to Spenser's sympathy with the mere externals of Puritan morality, the underlying ethical fibre of his work can be shown to have a tendency to contrast with the dramatists and to approximate to Milton.

Spenser has little of the common Renaissance reverence for the ancients; in the dungeons of the House of Pride he gives a list of the biblical heroes who are confined there: Nebuchadnezzar, Nimrod, etc.:

'All these togcther in one heape were throwne,
Like carkases of beasts in butcher's stall.'[7]

And in another corner there is a similar heap of

'The antique ruins of the Romanes fall.'[8]

Among whom are included Romulus, Scipio,

A servant to the vile affection
Of such, as he depended most upon;
And with the sugrie sweete thereof allure
Chast Ladies eares to fantasies impure.'
—*Mother Hubberd's Tale.*

[1] 'For he mongst ladies could their fortunes read
Out of their hands and merrie leasings tell,
And juggle finely that became him well.
But he so light was at legierdemaine
That what he toucht came not to light againe.'
—*Mother Hubberd's Tale.*

[2] 'A thousand wayes he them would entertaine,
With all the thriftles gamcs that may be found;
With mumming and with masquing all around,
With dice, with cards, with billiards farre unfit,
With shuttelcocks, misseeming manlie wit,
With courtezans and costly riotize.'
—*Mother Hubberd's Tale.*

[3] 'Ne any there doth brave or valiant seeme,
Unlesse that some gay mistresse badge he beares,
Ne any one himselfe doth ought esteeme,
Unlesse he swim in love up to the eares.'
—*Colin Clout's Come Home Again.*

[4] 'Now making layes of love and lovers paine,
Bransles, ballads, virelays, and verses vaine,
Oft purposes, oft riddles, he devysed,
And thousands like which flowed in his braine.'
—*Faery Queen* (III. x. 8).

[5] 'Ne, them to pleasure, wonld he sometimes scorne
A Pandares coate (so basely was he borne):
Thereto he could fine loving verses frame,
And play the Poet oft. But ah! for shame,
Let not sweet Poets praise, whose onely pride
Is virtue to advaunce and vice deride,
Ne with the worke of losels wit defamed,
Ne let such verses Poetrie be named!
Yet he the name on him would rashly take,
Maugre the sacred Muses, and it make

[6] *Hymne of Heavenly Love.*

[7] *Faery Queen* (I. v. 49).

[8] *Faery Queen* (I. v. 49).

Hannibal, Cæsar, Pompey, Antony, and Cleopatra.

We have only to contrast this picture with the manner in which Shakespeare treats Antony and Cleopatra to realise the difference between the unadulterated spirit of the Renaissance and the spirit of the Renaissance as touched with Puritanism.

The chief characteristics of the classical spirit are the delight in life for its own sake, and the sorrow over its passing—its mind knows one supreme good, life as life—its continual thirst is for happiness and beauty of life, and its tragedies are the evils which interrupt this and the death which ends it.

Such is also the spirit of Shakespeare and of the dramatists generally.

In Spenser it is far otherwise. There is permissible neither such frank enjoyment nor such grief; his religion adds the tone of self-restraint to the one and of consolation to the other.

Spenser has little delight in life for its own sake. There is a continual strife between the higher nature and the lower, and his main idea is to show how stern the conflict is, and how it is only after great difficulties that the good emerges victorious.

> 'Who will not bide the burden of distresse,
> Must not hero thinke to live; for life is wretchedness.'[1]

Underlying all his rich delight in beauty there is the sternest morality. He has a natural dread of the pleasures of sense; it was a thing uncommon in his position and day, but, as with the case of Milton, seems to have characterised his manhood from the first.

Harvey writes: 'You suppose most of these bodily and sensual pleasures are to be abandoned as unlawful, and the inward contemplative delights of the mind more zealously to be embraced, and more commendable. Good Lord! you a gentleman, a courtier, and a youth, and go about to revive so old and stale a bookish opinion.'

This mood is the mood he retains in the *Faery Queen*.

To treat his poem as being like his own

> 'Sweet inn from paine and wearisome turmoil,'

is wholly to misunderstand him; if we find it so, most assuredly we do not read it as he meant it to be read. The treatment meted out to the Red Cross Knight—whipped with an iron whip, his flesh pulled out with pincers, and his wounds bathed in salt water—is not that of the 'sweet inn' described.

Life with the poet is always a means to an end, and it is so with his poetry; he means to be taken seriously, and he does not write for pleasure alone; there is a strict feeling of utility in all his work, a high and noble utility, perhaps, but it is there.

In no poet have physical enchantment and moral sanity been ever more completely blended. The Renaissance sense is sufficiently strong in Spenser to make him appreciate the intense power and seductiveness of sensuous pleasure; the bower of Acrasia is surely one of the loveliest pictures of such enchantment in the world's literature.

Still, with Spenser beauty of this—the sensuous—type is always attended by peril; when he uses all his powers it is to picture a land of delight, but of temptation also; the reader's mind is concentrated on the whirlpools near the wandering islands and the monsters in their seas, the whole canto being as full of terror as of beauty:

> 'Pleasure dwells in sensual delights,
> Mongst thousand dangers and ten thousand Magick mights.'[2]

His knights are never allowed to dwell on enjoyment; it is presented to them only in order that it may be flung aside. Seduction is heaped upon seduction only in order that the final triumph may be the more striking.

In the gardens of Acrasia there grow wonderful grapes:

> 'Some deepe empurpled as the Hyacine,
> Some as the Rubine laughing sweetely red.'[3]

Excess with her own hand—

> 'That so faire winepresse made the wine more sweet'[4]—

squeezes the juice into a golden cup and offers it to Guyon, who takes the cup and dashes it to the ground; it is the main motive of Comus with the Knight of Temperance in place of Milton's Lady, and it is typical of the whole spirit of the *Faery Queen*.

There is no sparing of beauty for beauty's sake; if it is the haunt of sin it must go. The poet lavishes every art on his description of the Bower of Bliss; but it is beauty which has lent itself to evil, and it is sacri-

[1] *Faery Queen* (III. xi. 14).

[2] *Faery Queen* (II. xii. 1).

[3] *Faery Queen* (II. xii. 54).

[4] *Faery Queen* (II. xii. 56).

ficed without remorse. The knight has no pity:

'All those pleasaunt boures and Pallace brave
Guyon broke down with rigour pittilesse,
Ne ought their goodly workmanship might save
Them from the tempest of his wrathfulnesse,
But that their blisse he turn'd to balefulnesse.'[1]

Every detail of the ruin is given with zest:

'Their groves he feld; their gardens did deface;
Their arbers spoyle; their Cabinets suppresse;
Their banket houses burne; their buildings race;
And, of the fayrest late, now made the fowlest place.'[1]

The Palmer points out to Guyon the beasts into whom the enchantress has transformed her lovers:

"'Sad end" (quoth he) "of life intemperate
And mournefull meed of joyes delicious."'[2]

The whole of the argument that life is short, and that therefore we should enjoy it while we may, is well known to Spenser, and few people have ever expressed it so well; like *Comus*, again, the opposite side is presented in all its power, but rejected ruthlessly:

'So passeth, in the passing of a day,
Of mortall life the leafe, the bud, the flowre;
Ne more doth flourish after first decay.
. . . . . .
Gather therefore the Rose whilest yet is prime,
For soone comes age that will her pride deflowre;
Gather the Rose of love whilest yet is time.'

The same spirit is evident with regard to love. Pre-eminent as it is in the *Faery Queen*, the treatment accorded to it is remarkably severe. Spenser does not, like the dramatists, admire passion for passion's sake and delight even in its very extravagance and excess. Love with him has always an ideal of self-restraint; it is a religion rather than a pleasure, it must be followed and obeyed; if so obeyed it will inspire noble life and great deeds, but its quest is hard and laborious, and it never will and is not expected to yield much enjoyment. There is nothing of the tone of Antony and Cleopatra, where a guilty love is, in part at least, pardoned because of its force and splendour, still less is there of the lurid effect produced by such themes as the *Vittoria Corombona* of Webster and the *Changeling* of Middleton.

Spenser, as the history of Amavia shows us, would have considered it merely a proof of intemperance in Juliet to die because of Romeo's death. Poor Amavia stabs herself by the body of her dead lover, and is only an

'ymage of mortalitie
And feeble nature cloth'd with fleshly tyre.'

Spenser shows us the mediæval idea that the love of the senses is an unhallowed thing, gradually transforming itself into the Puritan idea that it is a dangerous thing. This love of the senses he seems to have typified by the name of Cupid, and in him, as in Milton's 'frivolous bolt of Cupid,' it is always a name of scorn.

Charissa is full of great love, but

'Cupid's wanton snare, as hell, she hated.'

So, also, of Belphœbe's eyes:

'In them the blinded god his lustfull fyre
To kindle oft assayed, but had no might,
For, with dread Majestie and awfull yre,
She broke his wanton darts and quenched bace desyre.'[3]

That form of subjection to love in which the lover loses control of himself and changes from happiness to misery and from joy to anger almost every hour, this kind of love is with Spenser one of the worst modes of intemperance. The three knights who fight for their lady loves are an example:

'So love does raine
In stoutest minds and maketh monstrous warre;
He maketh war, he maketh peace againe,
And yet his peace is but continuall jarre,
O miserable men, that to him subject arre.'[4]

And a similar case is that of the unhappy Phaon:

'Wrath, gelosy, griefe, love, this Squyre have laide thus low.'[5]

Spenser's heroes, the Knights of Maidenhead, are nearly all in love, but they do not stoop to bondage, they consent to be inspired. The effect of the first three books is especially severe.

The Red Cross Knight is more eager for glory than for his mistress, and he longs with greater impatience for battle than he ever does for the presence of Una; his devotion to her is of so shadowy a kind that we have no difficulty in realising it to be an emblem of something else. He thinks of leaving her altogether, in his moment of conversion, and devoting himself to religion; as soon as the betrothal is accomplished he has to be away again. He kills a monster, a giant, two Paynims, and a dragon half a mile long, which only

[1] *Faery Queen* (II. xii. 83).
[2] *Faery Queen* (II. xii. 85).
[3] *Faery Queen* (I. x. 30).
[4] *Faery Queen* (II. ii. 26).
[5] *Faery Queen* (II. iv. 24).

represents one year's work; he has still six more years to serve before he can return and claim his bride. There is no 'fleeting of the time' here. Considered as a love-story, the narrative of the first book is the slightest, the most unsatisfactory possible.

In the second book there is no love-story. Guyon, the complete example of temperance, is untouched.

In the third book Britomart's passion is represented, the strongest and the most carefully studied in Spenser; but how difficult and hard is its course, and how unsatisfactory its end! It is a passion that must suffer cruelly before finding its object, and then must enjoy only a short time, and lose for ever.

Even in having revealed to her that she will win the man on whom she has set her heart, Britomart has little prophesied to her but toil. She sets out on a long and painful search, she recognises Artegall only after having overthrown him twice, and nearly met her death at his hands; she has to give him up immediately to go on his quest; she delivers him from Radegurd and gives him up again; and, after all this, they can only join in fighting against the foes of her kingdom:

> 'Till his last fate him from thee take away;
> Too rathe cut off by practise criminall
> Of secrete foes.'[1]

It is noticeable that Spenser, in the whole of the *Faery Queen*, does not attempt to describe the consummation of love. There are no raptures after the manner of Marlowe's *Hero and Leander* or even *Romeo and Juliet*; in this respect the poem is colder than *Paradise Lost*, where Milton does depict voluptuousness at times. Nor is this due to reticence. There is sufficient freedom in his work to prove that he said everything he wished to say; it is simply the temperance of his ideal.

Chastity is always one of the chief virtues of his heroes, and moderation is found even in most of his own love-poetry. Beautiful as they are, his sonnets show somewhat cold by the side of Shakespeare or of Sidney. He idealises Elizabeth Boyle, but with due measure; he does not say to her, 'And queens shall live upon the alms of thy superfluous praise'; at the height of his raptures she is to him simply a handmaid of the queen, and he asks permission

> 'Underneath thy feet to place her praise.'

Like Milton, it was the love not of desire, but of hallowed peace, which attracted him most. The *Epithalamium* is worthy to stand beside the nuptial hymn of Adam and Eve as the loveliest things of their kind in English. Excesses of passion do not tempt Spenser, nor, indeed, do excesses of any kind. He has no admiration for that lust of power which gives rise to great and evil ambitions; the Marlowesque delight in insatiable desire is very far from his spirit. To him everything of that type was merely

> 'The sacred hunger of ambitious minds
> And impotent desire of men to raine.'[2]

He says regretfully how neither the dread of God which constrains even the devils, nor the laws of men, nor the bonds of nature can keep them from outrage and from doing wrong.

From one aspect of the Renaissance, from its unthinking joy in life, its desire for sensuous pleasures, and all the excesses and transports produced by that desire, from this aspect Spenser stands consistently aloof. He is also aloof from its regrets. Spenser has a sadness of his own; there was a certain foundation of melancholy in his character, not by any means gloom or weakness, but certainly melancholy. How much he felt the labour of life we may judge from the fact that rest is always the strongest temptation held out to his fairy knights. With it the mermaids entice Guyon:

> 'This is the port of rest from troublous toyle,'

and it is with the offer of rest that Despair startles the Red Cross Knight:

> 'He there does now enjoy eternall rest
> And happy ease, which thou doest want and crave,
> And farther from it daily wanderest.'

But with Spenser this mood is only passing; it is the subtlest temptation against which his hero has to contend, but it is a temptation and nothing more. The whole scene with Despair shows that he knew the malady of Hamlet, knew it intimately and well, but it is not allowed to bear any influence in his scheme of life.

It was a common fashion of the Elizabethan poets, following their classical and French models, to lament the transience of all earthly things. The *Ruins of Time* is Spenser's treatment of this typically Renaissance theme. It is not well done, his lamentations are only formal. We may say generally that no poet who believes in

[1] *Faery Queen* (III. iii. 28).

[2] *Faery Queen* (V. xii. 1).

immortality can ever give its best expression to such a theme.

No one has lamented in this style more exquisitely than Herrick, but compared to the passion of Catullus with his 'nobis . . . nox est perpetua una dormienda,' the daffodil and apple-blossom lyrics are mere toys; the English poet plays with the feeling and throws it aside.

Spenser has, in his ethical tone, taken as a whole, a tendency away from the dramatists, and when we examine him closely we can see that in all fundamental points he draws close to Milton. The most vital resemblance in the work of the two men is the idea of utility by which they were both inspired. Milton had been the greater part of his life engaged in active business; his poem was written as much in the interests of morality as he conceived the rest of his life's work to be.

Spenser began his poetic career and was planning his great work while the fortunes of England hung in the balance; he continued it in the midst of the difficulties of administration in Ireland. His friends, the men with whom he was thrown, whom he most admired—Sidney, Raleigh, Lord Grey—were men of affairs. Under these conditions practical utility must have been continually present to his mind; when so much serious work was being done it would seem to him that, if he wanted to justify himself in writing poetry, he must make that poetry as serious a task as any. It was not, and it could not be, a mere opiate to lull him into forgetfulness of the disappointments of life. The aim of his poem is a typical Renaissance aim—educational; but its actual theme is identical with that of Milton and Bunyan—a high and serious moral strife, embracing the whole of man's life, with the victory only after hard contest on the side of the good.

Like Milton, Spenser devotes the whole wealth of his Renaissance sense of beauty and his classical knowledge to an end essentially religious. Like Milton also, he heard the call to serious tasks in the midst of his early pastoral poetry, written for poetry's sake, just as the touch of fierce polemic in *Lycidas* is a prophecy of what was to come, so the *Shepherds' Calender* shows us the poet turning longingly to the idea of the *Faery Queen*:

> 'Lyft up thy selfe out of the lowly dust,
> And sing of bloody Mars, of wars, of giusts;
> Turne thee to those that weld the awful crowne,
> To doubted Knights, whose woundlesse armour rusts,
> And helmes unbruzed wexen dayly browne.'[1]

[1] *Shepherd's Calender*, October Eclogue.

With both poets the supernatural is a real part of the machinery; the ordinary laws of nature are set aside, and we feel it no strain; it marks their remoteness from the actual world. In both also this remoteness is the cause of a radical defect. Milton suffers by the absence of characters in his great work, and Spenser suffers by the tendency his characters have to become abstractions. The bad characters are studies of abnormal vice, the good are too idealised to be real; they are illustrations rather than living beings, studied for the lessons they yield and not for themselves. This result is not to be wondered at. It arises from a keen perception of the opposition between good and evil, coupled with blindness to the fact that in human nature these principles are root and branch entwined.

It is easy enough, if we represent sins only, to make them hideous and repulsive, but the sinner is apt to grow attractive in handling. So Chaucer found it, so Shakespeare; hence a confusion difficult to be overcome by the man of strict morals. Spenser cannot overcome it. He cuts the knot and sacrifices, to some degree at least, his human interest.

As we have seen, it agrees curiously well with his Calvinism, but it is a danger common to all poets who are didactic first of all, a danger to which Shelley succumbs scarcely less than Spenser.

Spenser is Puritan as Milton is Puritan, in his determination to use all culture for a moral end and in his preoccupation with moral ideas; he suffers also as Milton suffers by his absorption in his own ideal and by his remoteness from actual life. Puritanism in Spenser, however heartily accepted, is an undeveloped thing; he has not worked out the consequences of the doctrines he holds; in part, at least, they seemed alien to his nature.

Puritanism, breaking with tradition, came to rely more and more on the Bible.

Milton has a passion for the Old Testament, and in spite of his humanism is Hebrew at the core.

In Spenser's time this aspect was still in abeyance; there is no preoccupation with the Old Testament in him, and he holds ideas quite at variance with it; his treatment of women is still mainly the treatment of chivalry, and opposed to the Hebraic ideal of Milton's Eve.

Again, a most impressive result of Puritanism was its preoccupation with first causes, its determination to live always in

the sight of an infinite and overwhelming God. This intoxication of infinity is characteristic of both Calvin and Milton; Milton continually plunges to the root of the matter; he is always confronting God and Satan. There is an atmosphere of magnificence in the whole of his poem; it is God and the great opponent of God. We are as high and low as we can reach. This magnificence, this continual preoccupation with first causes, is no part of Spenser's scheme. He knows that the world is built on stern laws, and he accepts it without repining, but he would not have chosen it so, as Milton would.

The *Faery Queen* no less than *Paradise Lost* is a struggle between the forces of good and evil, but the Deity and Christ never once enter as actors upon the scene.

The letter of Calvinism is there! Spenser insists that God is everything, but he is so far from realising it that he is still lost in intermediaries. His powers of evil have not the grandeur of Milton's. Error, half woman, half serpent, the monster who seizes upon Amoret, the dragons of the Inquisition and of St. Georgé, they are loathsome and hideous rather than terrible.

Spenser's conception is a remnant of the mediæval tradition of the grotesque. Dante makes Lucifer and his friends utterly foul and has no splendours in his hell; they are not merely, like Satan, thrust out from heaven, they are incapable of it; if they were plunged in the midst of the Paradise, its light and harmony would pass over them as so much sunshine over stones. The evil of the world is not the good, somewhat smoke dimmed; it is different in essence.

This is the conception of Dante as contrasted with the conception of Milton, and Spenser sides with the old rather than the new.

A large part of the religion of Spenser and Milton consists in protest, hence, inevitably, a certain harshness.

The Reformation narrowed the religious life of England even while it quickened it. To be cut off from the Christianity of half the world was no light loss, and never again, from either Catholic or Protestant, have we had a poem with the world-embracing breadth of the *Commedia*.

It has often been said that Spenser's Puritanism weakened in later life, and to some extent this is true; yet there is little evidence that he ever changed his opinions or withdrew his allegiance to the Puritan party. He grew less preoccupied with religion as he advanced in life, and the whole tone of the *Faery Queen* becomes lighter as it proceeds.

The severe purpose which is never lost sight of in the first three books changes into a tangle of love-stories in the fourth and sixth, and while the knights of the early legends are kept sternly to their duty and cannot leave it for a moment without danger, Calidore stops to amuse himself in Arcadian retirement, and to play at love with the shepherds.

The influence of Elizabeth Boyle probably altered Spenser's attitude in the later portion of his poem; he begins to speak like an Elizabethan and a courtier of the might of love, and his ideals grow insensibly less stern; his lovers are permitted to be sometimes happy, and he drifts towards the tone of the forest in *As You Like It*, and the pastoral part of the *Winter's Tale*.

The latter half of the sixth book is full of charm, but it is the charm of ease and enchantment; the poet's sense of the seriousness and difficulty of life seems to drop from him, and he loses the impersonality of his earlier work; for the first time he talks of himself. He pictures his old love under the guise of the scornful Mirabella, and his new love as the lady surrounded by the Three Graces and the band of nymphs.

Apart from the idyllic charm of these few passages, the weakening of Spenser's serious interest was a great loss to him.

The latter half of the *Faery Queen* is far inferior to the earlier, and the very finest portion of all which is contained in the first two books seems to have been largely written before Spenser went to Ireland.

It is probable that his seclusion there did him no good; we know he regretted his exile, and though his courage and genius were such that he was enabled to prosecute his great work in spite of it, we can well believe that, had he enjoyed the society of his friends and received the stimulating touch of other minds, his poem might have gained in passion and fire. Life in England, in the centre of thought, would have lessened the curious remoteness which was always a characteristic fault of his genius, and which, in exact opposition to the usual rule in such cases, increased instead of lessening as time went on.

Colin Clout's Come Home Again shows us how great was Spenser's longing for the peace and prosperity of England;[1] and the

[1] 'Both heaven and heavenly graces do much more
(Quoth he) abound in that same land then this;
For there all happie peace and plenteous store
Conspire in one to make contented blisse.

same tone of irresistible sadness over the woes of Ireland, a beautiful country ruined, appears in the last fragments of the *Faery Queen*.

He grew to love the country of his adoption, even in a measure after seeing the disappointments and frivolities of the court, to be glad of it as a place of retirement; but his seclusion from all the rich life of his own day cannot have been otherwise than a loss to him.

It is conclusive proof of this if, as really seems to be the case, his genius possessed greater force before the age of thirty than it ever did after.

Spenser's is a mind innately serious, at its best when most serious; the beauty of the House of Holiness, the loveliness of Acrasia's bower and the dangers surrounding it, with the stern moral pointed by the whole—these are, poetically and ethically, the finest passages in Spenser's work.

When, in the magnificent cantos on *Mutability*, he rises once more to the full height of his genius, it is again on a serious subject, a profound philosophy which, when the poem breaks off abruptly, he seemed about to blend with his religion.

There is little evidence that Spenser abandoned his early ideals.

In the *Shepherds' Calender* and in the first books of the *Faery Queen*, he is Puritan in every sense that the word admitted of in his time, in doctrine, in his theory of church discipline, and in the severe tendency of his morals.

The only passage in his work that might be interpreted as an attack on the Puritan party, 'that ungracious crew which feigns demurest grace,' occurs in *Mother Hubberd's Tale*, which is intensely Puritan in other respects.

> No wayling there nor wretchednesse is heard,
> No bloody issues nor no leprosies,
> No griesly famine, nor no raging sweard,
> No nightly bordrags, nor no hue and cries;
> The shepheards there abroad may safely lie,
> On hillsand downes, withouten dread or daunger:
> No ravenous wolves the good man's hope destroy,
> No outlawes fell affray the forest raunger.
> *There learned arts do florish in great honor,*
> *And Poets' wits are had in peerlesse price:*
> Religion hath lay powre to rest upon her,
> Advancing virtue and suppressing vice.
> For end, all good, all grace there freely growes,
> Had people grace it gratefully to use!'
> —*Colin Clout's Come Home Again.*

It has been customary among his commentators to consider the Blatant Beast as symbolising the Puritans, but this is surely unwarranted.

The Blatant Beast is one of the unjust detractors of Artegall, and the chief fault of Lord Grey's administration in Ireland seems to have been a too Puritanic tendency.

'He wished,' says Mr. Froude, 'to make a Mohammedan conquest of the whole country, and to offer it the alternative of the Gospel or the sword.' The Puritan party could hardly have been depicted as slandering their own champion.

Again, the Blatant Beast is engaged in the suppression of the monasteries, which took place in the reign of Henry VIII., before Puritanism was heard of. Spenser seems to have meant this monster to typify the spirit of slander and irreverence generally. In the case of the monasteries it is not their abolition he objects to so much as the violent manner in which it was conducted. In the case of the Church he does not believe in any method which includes fouling the altars and speaking blasphemy; but if we are to conclude from this passage that Spenser objected to the removal of church furniture, and was thus anti-Puritan, we must conclude from the one immediately before that he objected to the suppression of the monasteries—which is to make him out a Catholic.

Spenser's religious position is curious and interesting. As has been remarked, it shows a state of transition.

He is intensely Puritan, yet in him Puritanism is undeveloped, and from some of its later aspects he is wholly and, for the temper of his genius, most happily, free.

He embraced the Reformation on its extremest side; he probably went with it in every alteration that it believed necessary, but he loved the poetry and beauty of the Catholic worship, and it was his conviction that every change should be effected in as sober and reverent a spirit as might be.

Spenser's poetry shows us both the transition from Catholicism to Puritanism and the causes which led to that transition.

It is one of the most curious and highly interesting accounts we possess: an inward picture of a change of faith.

LILIAN WINSTANLEY.

THE AUTHORESS OF 'THE FLOWER AND THE LEAF.'

In the preface to my collection of *Chaucerian Pieces*, I have shown the probability that the authoress of *The Flower and the Leaf* also wrote *The Assembly of Ladies*. It is not contended that the pieces are of equal merit, for this is obviously not the case. The former expresses the outburst of a young and buoyant spirit, as she herself tells us:

> 'for ther nas erthly wight,
> As I suppose, had morë hertës ese
> Than I, for I nad siknesse nor disese.'

The latter poem exhibits the authoress in a somewhat more subdued and, unfortunately, in a more prosaic mood. After the lapse, probably, of some years, she essays to write a longer poem, with greater experience of life, but is much less successful in a choice of subject; and the result is a comparative failure. In the first ten stanzas, something of the light and pleasant touch which characterises the earlier poem is maintained, but the rest is below the mark, for the most part. Her power of description and pleasure in bright and sparkling objects reappear slightly here and there, as in ll. 456-483 and ll. 519-539; but we feel sorry that she has acquired so much knowledge of the prosaic duties of the chamberlain of a household. In both poems, however, we may observe a fair knowledge of the purely technical art of composition, and a general smoothness much beyond that of Lydgate in his careless moments. And, of course, one point of curiosity about these two poems is the distinct assertion of her sex on the part of the writer.

Not long since, Professor Hales kindly directed my attention to a *third* poem by a female writer, printed in the *Paston Letters*, ed. Gairdner, vol. iii. p. 302, and entered (I do not know why) under what is, I suppose, the conjectural date of A.D. 1482, though it may have been written earlier. The piece is slight, and only amounts to fifty-six lines in all; but, in spite of the badness of the text, it runs with a fair amount of smoothness, much beyond that which is usually attained to in the latter part of the fifteenth century. But the most remarkable point about it is that there is no reason why the authoress may not have been the same person, speaking in a more grave and serious tone at a still later period of her life. Many slight tricks of phrase reappear in it, of which perhaps the most obvious is that which appears in all three poems, as follows:

> 'I thank you now, in my most humble wyse.'
> *Flower and Leaf*, 567.
>
> 'We thanked her, in our most humble wyse.'
> *Assembly*, 729.
>
> 'Un-to your grace in my most humble wyse
> I me comende.'
> *Verses by a Lady*, 2.

Several other similarities might be cited indeed, many more than one might expect to find in so short a poem. For instance, in *The Flower and the Leaf*, the authoress addresses her poem in these words (l. 591):

> 'O litel book, thou art so unconning,
> How darst thou put thyself in pres for drede?'

And in the *Verses by a Lady* (l. 31), we have:

> 'Envye also, it greveth me most sore
> That this rude bill shal put himself in pres
> To see your lordship, of his presumptuousnes
> Er I myself.'

All three poems are in the same metre and dialect, and have similar rhymes.

Denoting *The Flower* by *F.*, *The Assembly* by *A.*, and the *Verses by a Lady* by *V.*, I just note some examples of similarities. 'Her sorow to apese,' *A.* 671; 'my peynes to apese,' *V.* 14. *Desyr*, rhyming with *plesyr*, *F.* 113, *V.* 16. 'They shal not mis,' *A.* 358; 'ye shal not mis,' *V.* 34. 'With al my hool servyse,' *F.* 566; 'and al my hool servyse,' *V.* 36. 'Such as never were To love untrew,' *F.* 485; 'trew as ever was hert,' *V.* 41.

I could add more, were it worth while. I will just observe, further, that the word *wageour*, a wager, occurs in *A.* 383 and in *V.* 50. That the word is scarce in the poetry of the fifteenth century the reader may convince himself of, by the simple process of trying to find two more quotations. Two examples are given in Stratmann, but both belong to an earlier period. I can add one more myself; see *Lybeaus Disconus*, l. 867, in Ritson.

If the above result should turn out to be true, it is of much interest; for it has been conjectured that the *Verses* were written by the Countess of Oxford to her husband,

about the year 1471. I see to this theory no objection whatever; for *The Flower and the Leaf* may well have been written by a lady of high birth, familiar with 'Diamondës fyne and rubies rede.' And we know who this lady was.

She was (if I am not mistaken, and my historical knowledge is not extensive) Margaret Neville, sixth and youngest sister of Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, the celebrated 'King-maker,' and related to the Anne Neville who wrote her name in a copy of Chaucer's *Troilus*. In a note to the *Annals of England*, under the date 1471, we are told that her husband was John de Vere, Earl of Oxford, born in 1442. Though his father had been beheaded as being Lancastrian, he had at one time been in favour with Edward IV., but again joined the party of Henry VI. on his restoration in 1470. The Lancastrians were defeated at Barnet in 1471; Warwick was killed, and de Vere escaped to Scotland and afterwards to France. He was afterwards taken prisoner at Michael's Mount, and imprisoned at Hammes in Picardy till 1484. He was on the side of Henry VII. at Bosworth, and survived till 1513. 'His wife is said to have supported herself during a part of his imprisonment with her needle, but at length her great poverty was relieved by a pension of £100 a year from Edward IV., which Richard III. continued to her.' I do not know the date of Margaret Neville's birth, but the Earl of Warwick, her eldest brother, was born in 1428; so she may have been as old as her husband. The pension was granted to her in 21 Edw. IV., about 1481-82. Perhaps some one with more skill and leisure than I can command can tell us more about the matter, as it raises a point of much interest. The lady certainly wrote two of the *Paston Letters*, Nos. 890 and 947.

In conclusion, we can now see that it is not for nothing that both *The Flower* and *The Assembly* contain allusions to the margaret or daisy. In the former, l. 350, we read of a lady who sings a song 'Si doucë est la Margarete'; whilst the latter contains an allusion even more extraordinary. At l. 57 we read of 'margarettes growing in ordinaunce,' and are told that they were accompanied by forget-me-nots, which she calls 'Ne-m'oublie-mies.' And what was it that Anne Neville wrote in Chaucer's *Troilus* above her name? It was the motto—'Neuer foryeteth.'

WALTER W. SKEAT.

WEBSTER'S 'WHITE DEVIL.'

An Essay in Formal Criticism.

I. COMPARISON OF SOURCES.

ALTHOUGH the actual authority that Webster made use of in writing his play on the story of Vittoria Accoramboni is not known, we may safely assume that it was in the main a faithful relation of the facts of the case, in so far as they would lie within the cognisance of some contemporary annalist or pamphleteer. Several such accounts have survived in MS.; some have at various times found their way into print. The earliest known version of the story is a pamphlet entitled *Il miserabile e compassionevole caso della morte dell' illustrissima Signora Vittoria Accoramboni*, which appeared at Brescia in 1586. The same place and year saw the publication of Giovanni Baptista Brendola's *Sonetta et Canzone fatti nella morte dell' illustrissima Signora Vittoria Corambona*. Both these appeared within a year of Vittoria's death. Next we find the story given in bald outline by Cesare Campana in his annals of universal history entitled *Historie del Mondo dall' Anno* 1580 *fino al* 1596, published at Venice in the latter year. A French version appeared at Lyons in 1621. Henri Beyle included a translation from a MS. account in his *Chroniques et Nouvelles*, while what seems to be the most authentic account, the work of an unknown writer, commonly referred to as the 'anonimo del Campidoglio,' was printed by Professor F. Odorici in the *Archivo Storico* for 1862. The story is likewise told in the lives of Sixtus V. by Casimiro Tempesti and J. A. von Hübner; the former, however, suffers from the ecclesiastical bias unavoidable in an 'authorised' work, and the latter is decidedly superficial. The fullest and most recent treatment the subject has received is in the monograph by Professor D. Gnoli, which appeared at Florence in 1870.

The only accounts that Webster could have seen are those contained in the Brescia tract and Campana's history. The former of these is not to be found in the British Museum, and I am consequently unable to say whether or not it may have supplied him with his material, while he certainly consulted a very much fuller account than that supplied by Campana.

The strong probability is that Webster used some MS. account obtained either directly or indirectly from Italy. We are at first tempted to imagine this must have differed considerably from the received history of the events, since there are a number of points in the play for which it is difficult to account. Thus in the stage direction to Act II. sc. i.[1] we find a mention of 'little Jaques the Moor,' of whom we hear nothing further; in the dumb shows in II. ii., two characters—Christophero and Guid-Antonio—are casually introduced, though they are nowhere mentioned in the play; in Act V. Lodovico and Gasparo in disguise are frequently referred to in stage directions, etc., as Pedro and Carlo, though these names nowhere occur in the text; finally, in the stage direction in V. i., where Francisco enters, one Farnese is mentioned among his followers, of whom we hear no more, and whose presence, considering the rivalry between the Medici and Farnesi families, would be most unlikely. These facts are, however, capable of another explanation, for Webster may have made a sketch or rough version of the play of an elaboration from which he was afterwards forced, probably by the exigencies of stage and cast, to depart, but which appears to have left its trace in the stage-manager's copy. There are, moreover, several suggestions of undeveloped motives in the play, the most striking of which perhaps occurs in the 'Arraignment' scene. There Monticelso, addressing Vittoria, says:

> You were born in Venice, honourably descended
> From the Vittelli.

So far as I am aware there was no connection between the Accoramboni who came from Gubbio and the Vitelli who belonged to Città del Castello. It was, however, for the murder of one Vincenzo Vitelli that Lodovico Orsini was outlawed and obliged to fly from Rome. It is possible therefore that Webster intended to work a connection here and make Lodovico the murderer of some kinsman of Vittoria's, which would account for Brachiano's suit against him, and also give point to his remark about Vittoria being in a position to get his pardon from the duke.

Thus we shall, I think, be safe in assuming that Webster knew the story very much as we read it in the history of *cinquecento* Rome, and that, where his tragedy differs from the received account, the divergence is due to his own deliberate choice. It must be remembered that in the case of Webster, as in that of Jonson, we are dealing with a conscious and careful artist, whose work is the outcome of leisure and thoughtful consideration, very different from the promiscuous botching of Henslowe's hacks. As to his actual source, the name of the heroine would seem to point to a popular narrative, since Corambona and Corimbona are the forms most commonly found in the floating literature of the day. Very likely it is lurking among the MS. collections of our public or private libraries, very likely it has perished. Its absence is probably of less consequence than that of the source of any other of our great romantic plays would be.[2]

The history of this extraordinary romance, as well as Webster's particular attitude towards it, and towards Italian life in general, has been dealt with by the late Mr J. A. Symonds in an even more than usually brilliant essay. It is therefore unnecessary to give the history of the affair otherwise than in the barest outline. Vittoria was born at Gubbio in 1557, and the chroniclers represent her as early endowed with every grace of body and mind. At the age of sixteen she was married to Francesco Peretti,[3] nephew of the Cardinal of Montalto, who later succeeded Gregory XIII. in the papacy, assuming the name of Sixtus V. It was not a rich match, and her extravagance soon involved her husband in debt; gossip also seems to have made light of her name. In the meantime Marcello, the second of her six brothers, a desperate and ambitious *bravo*, had become the dependant

[1] I refer throughout to my own arrangement of scenes. A table of correspondences with that found in the quarto of 1672, and in Hazlitt, is given at the end.

[2] In the index to the second edition of Symonds' *Renaissance*, mention is made of 'Bandello's Novella upon her [Vittoria's] trial.' None such exists, nor is any mentioned by Symonds, who merely speaks of the trial as the sort of subject on which *novelle* were founded. I am not aware of the existence of any *novella* on the subject, unless the term can be applied to the Brescia tract.

[3] His real name was Francisco Mignucci; he assumed that of his uncle, *viz.* Felice Peretti, but is commonly known in history as Francisco Peretti.

and confidant of Paolo Giordano Orsini, the powerful Duke of Brachiano, and conceived the idea of raising the fallen fortunes of his house by trading on his sister's beauty and his patron's lust. In this plan he was ably seconded by his mother Tarquinia. Brachiano had, in 1553, married Isabella, daughter of the Grand Duke Cosimo and sister to Francesco and the Cardinal de' Medici, and in 1576, had, with the concurrence of her brothers, caused her to be put to death on a probably well-founded suspicion of infidelity. She left an only son, Virginio, who subsequently succeeded to his father's titles. Having now fired the duke's imagination and ascertained his readiness to make Vittoria his duchess, Marcello turned his attention to the removal of his brother-in-law. One night in April 1581 Peretti was sent for from his house on urgent business. Next morning his body was found on Monte Cavallo. The murder was planned by Tarquinia and Marcello; there is no evidence that Vittoria was cognisant of the plot. Suspicion, however, was at once aroused, and the young widow, together with her mother, sought refuge in a villa of the duke's, where she was shortly afterwards privately married to him. As soon as the news of this marriage endorsed the public gossip of Rome, Gregory declared it void. The duke made a show of submission, and Vittoria returned to her father's house. Thence she was removed by the Pope's orders, and finally committed to the fortress of S. Angelo, where she remained for more than a year. She was tried for the murder of her husband, but nothing could be proved, and she was finally released on condition of retiring to Gubbio. Soon afterwards she again went through the form of marriage with the duke, and the pair actually had the audacity to come openly to Rome. The marriage was again declared null, but before any further steps could be taken, Gregory died. The duke took the opportunity of celebrating his marriage yet a third time, openly and in Rome. In April 1585 Montalto was elected to the papal see, and the Duke and Duchess of Brachiano found it prudent to retire from Rome. They took up their abode in Venetian territory and finally settled at Salò, on the Lago di Garda, where the duke died suddenly in the following November. A contemporary writer talks of his succumbing to a trifling fever, but there was also a suspicion of poison. Vittoria removed with her household to Padua, where disputes soon arose between her and Prince Lodovico Orsini, the duke's executor, who had always shown a marked hostility towards her. One night a band of armed men broke into the house. Marcello was absent, but they found Vittoria's youngest brother, Flamineo, in the hall. He fled wounded to his sister's apartment. The murderers, following him, entered the room and stabbed Vittoria as she knelt at prayer. They then dispatched her brother. A few days later, Lodovico and his followers were apprehended by the Venetian authorities. The prince was strangled in prison by order of the Republic; seventeen of his followers were executed, while others were condemned to prison or the galleys.

It remains for us to see what use Webster has made of these materials. The point in which he has departed most widely from history is the character and *rôle* of Isabella. The real Isabella, as we have seen, was put to death five years before the murder of Vittoria's husband, while the dramatist makes them both alike the victims of Brachiano's passion, and furthermore, for the sake of dramatic contrast, represents her as a faithful and loving wife. This device supplies a stronger motive for the hostility shown by the Medici towards Vittoria than is to be found in history. There is, of course, a contrast, though it is more implied than expressed, between her and Vittoria. Indeed, Webster almost seems to have intentionally avoided bringing the two characters into opposition. He may have feared for Vittoria the contrast with the gentler, loving, and more amiable character of the wife; while the weakness of the latter, and her almost criminal renunciation of her rights as a wife, a mother, and a Medici, could not but have become fatally evident. We must be in a position to accept her unreservedly as a type of unselfishness fully to appreciate the exquisite scene of her 'supposèd jealousy.' Isabella wins our pity, but can claim neither our respect nor admiration; Vittoria commands our admiration, while she scorns our pity and is careless of our respect.

The part played in history by Isabella's son, Virginio, is a doubtful and at most a minor one. The exquisite character of Giovanni is Webster's own creation. In actuality he was probably at least as old as Vittoria, and it is perhaps worth mentioning that he married Flavia, niece of Francisco Peretti. He seems, as in the play, to have frequented the Mediœan court, but so far from executing justice

on Lodovico, was accused by him, in an intercepted letter written after arrest, of being accessory to the plot. In the last scene he appears in the conventional character of the virtuous young prince, and, as the text stands at present, as an intolerable prig—but the last speech of the play should undoubtedly be given to the English ambassador.

The dramatic connection of Lodovico with Isabella is entirely due to Webster. In history he only comes to the fore after Brachiano's death, but it was, of course, necessary for the purposes of the drama to make the instrument of Vittoria's murder a much more important personage throughout the play. To this end, and with a view to supplying a more adequate motive for his animosity to Vittoria, the dramatist has conceived the device of making him the silent lover of the duchess. For the same reason he has suppressed his surname, placed him among Francisco's followers, and made his banishment the result of Brachiano's suit.[1] In reality, of course, Prince Lodovico Orsini was of Brachiano's household, and his outlawry and flight from Rome happened at the same time as his patron's. To my mind the changes are admirably suited to produce the required effect.[2]

For the personality of Vittoria's husband, Isabella's fellow-victim, Webster was forced to draw chiefly on his imagination. In history his character is singularly shadowy, but the little we know of him warrants us in supposing that he was very different from the long-eared coxcomb of the play. The one thing we know of the character of the actual Francisco Peretti is his devotion to Vittoria, and the fatal friendship he was led to extend to her kinsmen, which made him fall an easy prey to their villainy. Since the name he bears in history might have led to confusion with the Duke of Florence, Webster has transferred to him the name of his mother Camilla, who does not figure in the play.

A more important part is played by his uncle the Cardinal. In this case, too, the dramatist has drawn but scantily upon his sources. Not only is the name Monticelso substituted for that of Montalto,[3] and the title of Paul IV. for that of Sixtus V., but the character has undergone a considerable change. In outward position Monticelso combines the characters of Montalto and the Cardinal de' Medici, Francisco's brother, which gives him a closer, if rather an ill-defined, connection with the family of the Grand Duke.[4] The historical Cardinal was noted for his 'politic' character, which drew from Gregory, when he begged him not to proceed in the matter of his nephew's murder, the often-quoted remark, 'Veramente costui è un gran frate.' When, however, this conciliatory attitude had won for him the papacy, he showed himself an active and relentless enemy to the lawless factions of the Roman states. In the play, on the other hand, he is represented as the bitter arraigner of Vittoria and enemy of the duke, although it is hardly likely that he can have felt much personal sorrow at the death of his nephew, while, however, his resentment for the most part wastes itself in smoke, and he becomes useless as an agent in the deep-laid plots of Francisco, who says of him:

> Monticelso,
> I will not trust thee, but in all my plots
> I'll rest as jealous as a town besieg'd.
> Thou canst not reach what I intend to act.
> Your flax soon kindles, soon is out again,
> But gold slow heats, and long will hot remain.

Even the episode of the excommunication pronounced by him against Vittoria and the duke, which, though not historical, seems at first sight to suggest the character of Sixtus, really bears out this contention, for nothing more is heard of it; it is a mere theatrical squib beside the studied revenge of Francisco. It is commonly a mistake to use Jove's thunder to no purpose unless you wish to make it ridiculous. Webster may not have wished to go as far as this, and possibly thought the Pope's action would make Francisco's plot more possible, in the same manner as his supposed concurrence determines Lodovico; but the whole scene is somewhat superfluous, and retards the action of the play at a critical point.

[1] He was, of course, banished by the Pope, but it must have been at Brachiano's instigation, else how could Vittoria have obtained his pardon 'for one kiss to the duke'?

[2] On this point I find myself in disagreement with Symonds, who writes: 'He has ascribed different motives from the real ones to Lodovico in order to bring this personage into rank with the chief actors, though this has been achieved with only moderate success.' I think, however, that Webster has given him all the importance he intended, and that it is sufficient.

[3] Is it possible that Webster misread Montcelto for Montalto in the MS. account and euphonised this into Monticelso?

[4] His position is certainly not that of Francisco's brother nor of Giovanni's uncle, and yet he in one place speaks of 'our sister duchess.' This must be the fossil remnant of an earlier draft, unless indeed we regard it as an instance of the not uncommon misprint 'our' for 'your.'

The part played by the Duke of Florence, a character who is never mentioned in connection with Vittoria's tragedy by the historians, deserves careful attention. It would seem that Webster was not satisfied with tho merely outward unity of action which characterises this story perhaps above all others, and sought to weld the plot yet more firmly togcther by supplying a motive and directing force which should regulate thc eonrse of events and work its will with the slow persistenee of a destiny. To this end he created the part of Francesco de' Medici, who, though he is not often prominent on the stage, yet makes his influence felt throughout. It is he who, after a seeming reconciliation with Brachiano, seeures the removal of Camillo, in order to give free rein for the duke to run 'into notorious scandal'; it is he who, with the the same object in view, says to Monticelso, when the unlooked-for presence and open defiance of the duke make the condemnation of Vittoria impossible:

> My lord, there's great suspicion of the murder,
> But no sound proof who did it . . .
> The act of blood let pass; only descend
> To matter of incontinence;

to which Vittoria, with quick insight, replies:

> I discern poison
> Under your gilded pills.

It is he again who suggests to Brachiano's mind the possibility of carrying off Vittoria from the house of convertites, and by thus openly defying the papal authority, placing himself within reach of his revenge; lastly, it is he who dogs their steps to Padua, and through the ready instrument of the desperate Lodovico finally accomplishes his end. The device by which he and his confederates gain the freedom of the Duke of Brachiano's court becomes less fantastic than it may at first appear, when we remember that a disguise of some sort was necessary. The Moor eommander of one of the Venetian territories—in this case Corfu—of course suggests Othello, but it should be remembered that it is the very post for which Lodovico was about to start at the time of his final arrest. The fietion of the Capuchins enabled Wcbster to introduce a death-bed scene after his own heart.

In passing to Franciseo's dependent, Marcello, we approach some of the most intricate problems of dramatic construction that the play presents. The parts played by the two brothers are reversed. In the case of the elder this merely amounts to a change of name; the case of the younger, the Mareello of the play, is more complicated. Still a boy when murdered together with his sister, he is represented by Webster as a young soldier in the retinue of the Duke of Florence, thus borrowing features from his brother Camillo, who fought under Filibert of Savoy and eventually died in France, and is also endowed with the outspoken rectitudc of another brother, Ottavio, Bishop of Fessombrone. A striking dramatic eontrast is thus obtained between the brothers, but this also involved further ehanges in the plot. In the historical aecount, as we have seen, the elder brother escaped the hands of Lodovico (he was subsequently surrendered by the Venetian republic into the power of Sixtus and executed), while the younger shared Vittoria's fate. This form of the 'catastrophy' possesses a singular propriety in the tragedy of 'pity' which history offers us, but Webster has rather chosen to represent a tragedy of 'terror,' for which it was neccssary that Vittoria and her elder brother should die together. He consequently had the unused material of his Marcello's death left ready to hand. He might, of course, easily have discarded it,[1] but the extravagant villainy of the quarrel and murder mark not inappropriately the turn of fortune, the beginning of the *débâcle*; while the eonsequent madness of Cornelia and her winding of her son's corpse lend to the final scenes a touch of fantastic pathos such as Webster delighted in, and which he must be allowed to have introduced with the hand of a master. All this is, of course, entirely the dramatist's invention. So too is the rather fantastic scene, which would be melodramatic were it not so instinct with passion, between Flamineo and Vittoria, in eonnection with which it should, however, be remarked that the 'anonimo del Campidoglio' records that, after Brachiano's death, Vittoria, seeing herself left unprotected amid her enemies, endeavourcd to end her life by means of a pistol, but was prevented by the historieal Flamineo.[2]

Of all the characters in the play it is perhaps Flamineo that is most closely studied from the original, at least in so far as his personality is concerned. The details

[1] Symonds remarks that Webster introduced the fratricide 'without any adequate object beyond that of completing the study of a type he loved.'

[2] She is also said to have attempted suicide in the Castle of S. Angelo; this may, however, be another version of the same story.

of his various crimes and the manner of his death are, of course, unhistorical, but with these we have already been concerned. A comparison with Bosola, his companion picture in *The Duchess of Malfi*, is tempting, and will be found treated with great skill in Mr. Symonds' essay.

> As in this world there are degrees of evil,
> So in this world there are degrees of devil;

and not mere degrees only, but every gradation of tone and shade. The wickedness of Flamineo is as distinct from that of Bosola as Vittoria's is from either.

The historical Marcello, I have already remarked, found an able confederate in his mother, Tarquinia. The name is an ominous one in the light of subsequent history, and when altering the character, Webster naturally altered the name. The one he chose has likewise its associations. The part of Cornelia is one of those which may be called decorative; she exercises no influence on the plot, and like Queen Margaret in *Richard III.*, seems to stand apart from the dramatic *personæ* and outside the action of the piece, producing, especially in the early part of the play, somewhat the effect of a Greek chorus, as where she breaks into the amorous dialogue with the cry:

> Woe to light hearts, they still forerun our fall! [1]

Later on, in the 'winding' scene, Webster has put into her mouth several reminiscences of the mad Ophelia, which make it rather difficult to appreciate the scene on its own merits. It is all the more puzzling as the finest points in the scene are original, namely the dirge and Flamineo's exclamation, 'I would I were from hence!'

Of the minor characters, the most important is Zanche, a Moorish waiting-woman of Cornelia's, who combines, as Mr. Symonds pointed out, the *rôles* of Caterina, a Bolognese in the service of Vittoria, and a mysterious Greek sorceress connected in some way with Marcello, together with whom she was executed at Ancona. I am not, however, satisfied of the actual existence of this latter, but incline to regard her as a double of Caterina, who was herself later accused of witchcraft, and though I am not aware that she was ever executed, she was certainly arrested, and Sixtus refused a petition made on her behalf by his sister Camilla. The use made of Zanche in the last act, where the dull and lascivious farce takes place in the very presence of the dead, deserves notice. It is certainly not justified for the purpose of giving Francesco details of the murders, but rather seems introduced for the opposite reason to most comic interludes, which serve to relieve the tension of tragedy, namely, by the ghastly contrast to make the effect of the tragedy yet more appalling.

Lastly, we come to the two central figures of the play, Vittoria and her lover, Duke Brachiano. In their case Webster has been prodigal of the subtlest characterisation his art was capable of, and it is only after repeated readings and careful study that we become aware of the full complexity and minute painting of these portraits. The duke is drawn throughout in reference to Vittoria; he seems to have no existence except in relation to her. He is, however, no mere effect or reflection of her power, for his dramatic character undergoes a visible and rational growth within the narrow compass of the play. In the first act he is merely fascinated by her wonderful and audacious charm, enchanted by her beauty, seduced by purely physical attractions. Abandoned as he is to the pleasures of sense, and ready to sacrifice no matter what to the satisfaction of his desire, not so much from the mastery of his passion, but from a cynical carelessness to all other considerations, he listens, half in amusement, to Vittoria's suggestion of murder. The cross to his desires that arises from his discovery by Cornelia only serves to make him more determined. If he is not to attain his end by the easy means of hoodwinking Camillo, he will adopt other and more violent measures. His mind is soon made up:

> Send Doctor Julio to me presently.
> Uncharitable woman! thy rash tongue
> Hath rais'd a fearful and prodigious storm:
> Be thou the cause of all ensuing harm.

In the second act he appears in a particularly revolting light. His attitude towards Isabella is, indeed, truly fiendish, and it is only his entire absorption in his passion for Vittoria that makes his acting with his wife humanly conceivable. In the fourth act he reappears with Vittoria in what is the most subtle scene in the play. Goaded by jealousy into a fit of ungovernable rage, it is after she turns and lashes him in the face with her own shame and the ruin of her house that the full power of her witchery first works upon him. He wakes as from a dream:

[1] Symonds compares her to a Cassandra and an Ate.

I have drunk Lethe.
Vittoria! my dearest happiness, Vittoria!

His passion is no mere vulgar lust, but a deep imperative need of companionship and possession. However criminal it may be, it is in his love for the White Devil only that, in the course of his wild life, he is touched to a finer issue. The only other occasion on which the two come into dramatic relation is the death-bed scene in Act v., and it is here that Brachiano's devotion appears most intense, revealed as it is in a few exclamations among the terrors of the death agony and the horrors of delirium. The sting of death is parting from the world that holds her:

O thou strong heart!
There 's such a covenant 'tween the world and it,
They 're loath to break. . . .
Where 's this good woman? Had I infinite words
They were too little for thee. Must I leave thee?

Tortured beyond endurance by the masquerading Capuchins, he breaks out in one last despairing cry: 'Vittoria!' We see the powerful villain run to earth, cornered at last; and as he slips from this life, taunted with damnation in the life to come, it is not on his court or his guards that he calls for protection against the fantastic murderers that dance amid the shadows of his fevered brain; it is not to the church that he appeals for grace in the hereafter; it is to the woman whom he has seduced, dragged through the depths of public disgrace and private infamy and now leaves defenceless among her enemies, that he turns with the simple confidence of a child turning to its mother.[1]

Who was the woman who could inspire a similar trust and devotion in a man like Brachiano? Surely not either a light wanton or an ambitious profligate. The character of Webster's heroine develops amid the scenes of horror through which she passes. Her attitude towards her lover alters as, with the progress of the action, his love for her alters and increases. She first appears as an ambitious schemer, a 'politic' wanton, arrogantly vicious in the knowledge of her beauty and her power. She is not so much a violator of the moral order as one to whom moral considerations convey no meaning. In this respect, in her simple passionless 'atheism', she remains consistent throughout, in contrast to Flamineo, who, in spite of his superb outward show of villainy, is in unceasing conflict with an outraged conscience. We next see her, proud and defiant, before her judges. So far from her possessing the 'innocence-resembling boldness' Lamb speaks of, it would almost be an insult to suppose she is other than guilty. And yet it is not so much that she brazens out her guilt as that she lacks the consciousness of it. It is possible that Webster has indulged in a peculiar touch of dramatic irony, which may account for the singular diversity of opinions among critics regarding her attitude at the trial. Is she actually guilty of the charges brought against her? She hinted at the removal of Camillo and Isabella to the duke; but are her hands actually stained with blood? She helped to befool her husband that she might securely meet her lover; but is she in fact a faithless wife? For the solution of these questions we lack evidence as completely as her accusers at the trial.[2] Undaunted as she is by her moral guilt, for to herself her own will is a sufficient justification, no wonder that she offers a bold front to her judges if she is innocent of the crimes whereof they accuse her. The question, however, affects but little the reading of her character; for this, the moral guilt is sufficient, and, innocent or guilty, we may assume that her bearing would have been much the same. It only makes the difference of regarding her appeal to the ambassadors—

Humbly thus,
Thus low, to the most worthy and respected
Lieger ambassadors, my modesty
And womanhood I tender—

in the one case as the spontaneous impulse of a woman believing herself wronged, in the other as a daring card in her game. Throughout her arraignment she shows a singular confidence in her cause. She is not even careful to defend herself, but seizes every opportunity of striking at her cowardly accusers, especially her replies to

[1] Webster, while blackening the duke's character, has made him physically less repulsive. In history he is represented as monstrously corpulent and as suffering from some loathsome disease. In representing him as an accomplished soldier, he has, however, not departed from history. In the following account of Vittoria, I again find myself in disagreement with Symonds, who regards ambition as her one dominant characteristic. The magnificent analysis of her character, with which the third section of his essay opens, deserves, however, careful attention.

[2] Since the scene in Act I. seems to be her first interview with the duke, and he is as yet doubtful of his success—*cf.* his words 'Quite lost, Flamineo!'—it would seem that she was innocent, unless it was on the very evening of the murders that Brachiano attained to the end of his 'long suit.'

Monticelso revealing a spiteful joy such as she might have felt at lashing a snarling cur. Her sentence appears to take her by surprise, and her rage breaks out:

Francisco. You must have patience.
Vittoria. I must first have vengeance!

The scene in which Vittoria and the duke quarrel divides with the 'arraignment' the honours of the play. In it we find the subtlest and most complex delineation of character to be met with in Webster, or probably in any of the dramatists except Shakespeare. Brachiano, on her appearance, taunts her with a sarcastic insult. She meets him with dignified astonishment, which, when she understands the source of his jealousy, turns to protestation and entreaty. At last he stings her with a reference to Isabella:

Brachiano. I was bewitched;
For all the world speaks ill of thee.
Vittoria. No matter;
I'll live so now, I'll make that world recant,
And change her speeches. You did name your duchess.
Brachiano. Whose death God pardon!

Then she breaks out in words that recall those in the trial scene:

Whose death God revenge
On thee, most godless duke! . . .
What have I gained by thee but infamy?
Thou hast stained the spotless honour of my house,
And frighted thence noble society.
. . . What do you call this house?
Is this your palace? . . .
Who hath the honour to advance Vittoria
To this incontinent college? Is't not you?
Is't not your high preferment?

Thus through a long tirade she lashes him and brings him to her feet and spurns him:

O thou fool,
Whose greatness hath by much o'ergrown thy wit!
What dar'st thou do, that I not dare to suffer,
Excepting to be still thy whore?

Her brother interposes—she is going too far—and she turns upon him like a wild-cat: 'Hence, you pander!' Gradually, her end attained, she grows milder and adopts a tone of self-pity:

Am I not low enough? . . .
Your dog or hawk should be rewarded better
Than I have been. I'll not speak one word more.

And to the end of the scene we only, to use Mr. Symonds' phrase, feel her melting humour in the air. The dramatic situation closes with Brachiano's words, 'Think on a duchess' title.'

The manner in which she works on the duke is the result of consummate art, for Webster has depicted in her not only a glorious woman, but a supreme actress. And yet it is not the outcome of cold calculation; her pride, her fury, her despair, are all alike genuine. Nor are they merely the passions of an ambitious creature who sees her dream of advancement shattered; she remains a woman throughout. She feels her womanly pride outraged, her victorious beauty challenged, and the bitterness of her resentment is the measure of her love for the duke, for to her his person and his honours are essentially one. It is not that her affections are less keen than those of other women, but that there is room besides in her nature for calculating ambition and the lust of power; actions and words that in others would be inconsistent are with her but glimpses of different sides of her character.

We see her next at her husband's death-bed. She presses to his side:

O, my loved lord! poison'd!

She soothes him and humours his delirium; he taunts her with the frailties of womankind, and she winces. The hair of her young head is already touched with white through much living; in his fever the duke gibes at it, but she keeps her place by right at his side. The words she utters are few, but she is ever ready at the first call of the dying man. When he is dead she leaves the scene with the cry: 'O me! this place is hell!' Uttered as it is at the moment when the call upon her wifely ministrations finally ceases and her thoughts are free to fly back to her own situation, it is natural enough. Francisco is not her friend, but he recognises the genuineness of her grief: 'How heavily she takes it!' It is not merely that at a stroke the prize for which she has risked all escapes her, nor that she sees herself helpless and surrounded by ruthless enemies—her self-possession is sufficient to have steeled her against these—but that she sees done to death before her the only man who in force of will and spirit was her equal, who was bound to her by community of glorious desires and unscrupulous purpose, and in whose want her life must thenceforth be void and incomplete. Thus although it is not the impulse of any light love, nor primarily a deep sensuous desire that is the mainspring of Vittoria's character, it is likewise possible to assign too important a place to mere worldly ambition, and Webster may well

have intended to depict in her a more natural and kindly passion than his critics have been apt to recognise, for when her moments are already numbered he puts into her mouth the words:

> O, my greatest sin lay in my blood,
> And now my blood pays for 't.[1]

In the remaining scene of the play Vittoria plays the part of a caged wild-cat. Terrible and fascinating in the consistency of character into which no moral misgiving can find entrance, she fights ruthlessly, desperately against fate. It is not easy to die in the height of youth and beauty; her desires in this world are unfulfilled, and to her pagan spirit what lies beyond is little compensation:

> My soul, like to a ship in a black storm,
> Is driven I know not whither.

Yet, brought face to face with death, she regains the proud scornful assurance she bears in presence of her judges. Her last words sum up the pathos of the tragedy of the life that opened with such fair promise:

> O, happy they that never saw the court,
> Nor ever knew great men but by report!

The historical Vittoria, kneeling in her silken night-rail, died with the word of forgiveness upon her lips. Her dignity and sweetness were not without their effect even on her murderers. 'Ohimè!' exclaimed Count Paganello, one of the ruffian crew; 'Ohimè! che havemo fatto? Havemo uccisa una santa.' There is something theatrical in either version of her end, which prevents it helping us much towards understanding her character.

Such then, it seems to me, is Webster's reading of Vittoria's tragedy, and at least the solution he proposes offers no greater difficulties than any other.[2] The action of the play has naturally been much condensed throughout. The arraignment follows immediately upon the murder, Vittoria's first marriage with the duke, its annulling, and her long confinement being omitted. Her flight with Brachiano to Padua follows at once upon her escape (or release), the story thus jumping from November 1582 to the election of the new Pope in April 1585, and omitting her second marriage and her life with the duke at Brachiano. Her final marriage takes place at Padua instead of Rome, and Brachiano's death and her own end follow immediately upon it. In reality the duke did not die till November 10th, nor did her murder take place till December 23rd.

II. Division into Scenes.

The play was printed four times in quarto. The text in the first two editions, those of 1612 and 1631, is not divided; that of 1665 introduced the division into acts; that of 1672 the further division into scenes. These divisions, introduced many years after the writing and original staging of the play, though accepted in the main by the modern editors, cannot be regarded as possessing even the smallest authority. They stand equally condemned on internal evidence. Fresh scenes are frequently marked in spite of characters remaining on the stage, as at the entrance of Brachiano immediately after the trial scene; while on the other hand no new scene is marked where the stage remains empty, as at the beginning of the scene between Vittoria and Flamineo in Act v. The division into acts is equally unsatisfactory; the break during which Vittoria and Brachiano travel from Rome to Padua coming in the middle of an act, while a fresh one is made to begin after the 'Barriers,' though the action is perfectly continuous. The case is different with the stage directions, which, dating from 1612, are of greater value, and probably belong, as we shall see, to a prompt copy.

It must be borne in mind that our stage early rejected the classical and continental division of scenes, namely, a new one wherever there is a change in the actors on the stage, which is merely a theatrical

[1] Had Webster intended to lay stress solely on Vittoria's ambition, it is by no means improbable that his ghastly genius would have spared itself the pains of making his duke a less revolting lover than the historical prototype. The fact of his departing from his model as regards Brachiano at the same time as he drew such a woful coxcomb in Camillo, bears out the view put forward above.

[2] Against the supposition of wantonness is the evidence of the repulsive physical taint in the duke; against the idea of the ambitious adventuress, the testimony of her amiable character as a girl, her gentle and forgiving death, and the respect always shown towards her by Montalto; against the suggestion of constraint, the fact that she could easily have obtained protection from him or from the Pope; lastly, against the possibility of her having been a weak woman who allowed herself to be led into criminal acts against her own conscience, the whole of the scanty evidence we possess with regard to her character, especially her firm behaviour in the castle of S. Angelo. A singularly unsuccessful and ill-judged attempt to whitewash Vittoria was made in an article in the *Nineteenth Century* for January 1899.

technicality having nothing to do with dramatic art. The English arrangement of a new scene only when the stage is left empty came much nearer rendering the true dramatic value of the scene as a real subdivision of the act, in the same way as a paragraph is an independent member of a chapter. It sacrificed, however, the clear simplicity of the foreign method, and is sometimes, as in the present play, the source of considerable perplexity.

This perplexity is due to the conventional construction of the Elizabethan stage, a clear idea of which should be borne in mind. The typical form may be taken as consisting of a wide shallow platform, without curtain, but with entrances towards the sides, and in the centre a 'traverse' or curtain which drew back and revealed a kind of inner stage. On this any furniture required could be arranged while the traverse was closed, and it consequently represented, when displayed, a definite locality until the traverse was again closed. It also contained the balcony which was used whenever an actor was required to appear at a window or on a tower, etc. The outer stage could never have any furniture, and was consequently in no way localised in the minds either of players or audience, which accounts for the perplexing confusions of scene that frequently arise. Since the play was acted continuously without break, no change of scene could take place on the inner stage without an intervening scene on the outer; and although it is possible that consecutive scenes, involving a change of locality, may have been acted on the outer stage alone, the change being left entirely to the imagination of the audience to supply, the natural course would be alternate scenes on the outer stage and on the whole stage together. This peculiarity of the early stage is the origin of the use of 'deep' and 'shallow' scenes in our modern theatres. This alternation is, in the main, what we find in the present play. For instance, the procession to the judgment-hall would be on the outer stage; the 'arraignment' necessarily on the inner; Flamineo's feigned madness on the outer; Francisco's plot, necessitating a table, on the inner; the quarrel between Flamineo and Brachiano on the outer; the great scene with Vittoria, necessitating a bed, on the inner. But this simple arrangement is complicated in two ways. Of the first there are three examples in the play; it consists of the carrying over characters from one scene to another—a kind of *enjambement*. The first instance is in connection with the trial scene. It is preceded by a scene on the outer stage in which various characters pass on their way to the judgment-hall. The stage is at moments empty, but since the characters all form a part of a procession, as it were, the whole may be treated as forming one scene. At the direction 'exeunt,' Flamineo, Marcello, their guards, the lawyer, and the French, English, and Spanish ambassadors, are left on the stage. We should, of course, suppose that they all go off, but in the stage direction to the 'arraignment' (which, by the way, has never been marked as a new scene) only the ambassadors are mentioned as re-entering, though, of course, all reappear on the stage. The explanation is simple enough: the ambassadors alone 'exeunt,' and pass behind to take their places on the bench; then the traverse is drawn aside, and the brothers, with the guard and the lawyer, merely join in the scene without leaving the stage. It may be noticed also that Flamineo must necessarily be near the front of the stage as he is the only character who has an *aside* in the course of the scene.[1] The next case occurs in the scenes in the house of convertites. When Vittoria appears, the stage direction in the quartos is 'Enter Vittoria to Brachiano and Flamineo,' and no new scene is marked in that of 1672. Hazlitt marked a fresh scene and altered the direction to 'Enter to Vittoria, Brachiano and Flamineo,' but strangely enough forgot to supply their previous exit. But there is no reason to suppose the original direction incorrect if we remember that, in the language of the old stage, 'enter' as often as not means 'is discovered,' as is plain from such directions as 'Enter Faustus in his Study' (*Dr. Faustus*, scene i., 1604). The matron probably leaves the stage when Flamineo takes the letter from her early in the scene, so that at the close he and the duke are alone. Vittoria cannot merely enter to them in the ordinary sense, for a change of scene is necessary, and, moreover, the inner stage is required for the bed; but the traverse would be drawn apart and Vittoria would enter, that is, be discovered, Brachiano and Flamineo passing into the new scene without exit. A third case occurs in the last act. The quartos have the direction: 'Enter Brachiano, presented in bed, Vittoria and others.' Now, there are cases in which a bed is actually pushed on to the

[1] It is possible that the opposite of this happens at the end of the scene, some characters remaining on the stage after the traverse has been drawn.

stage from behind a curtain, with a person lying in it (*e.g.* in Heywood's *Maidenhead Well Lost*); but we can hardly suppose that Webster would have tolerated such a barbarous expedient in his play. The natural manner in which to overcome the difficulty would be to draw back the traverse and discover the duke, etc. I have no doubt that this is what was intended. There is an unexpected complication, however, in Francisco's words: 'See, here he comes'; perhaps we are to imagine that Brachiano is just being led to his bed as the scene opens.

But beyond these definite cases there are others in which the traverse would no doubt be used. When Francisco tells Flamineo of Cornelia's madness, he replies:

> I will see them;
> They are behind the *traverse*; I 'll *discover*
> Their superstitious howling.[1]

Here then there can be no doubt how the scene was managed. When the ladies withdrew, the corpse would probably remain on the stage, thus adding to the ghastly effect of Brachiano's apparition. Then the traverse again closes, and the following scene proceeds on the outer part of the stage only. Probably the same device was used in the scene of the papal election, which, coming between two whole-stage scenes, would naturally be played on the outer stage, for we find the direction: 'A cardinal on the terrace,' that is, on the balcony which belonged to the inner stage. Here the traverse would be drawn aside at the words:

> Behold, my lord of Arragon appears
> On the church battlements;

probably closing again after the newly elected Pope had entered with his train through the central entrance at the back. We have now reached a perfectly alternate use of the outer and inner stages, except in one instance, namely, where the second, third, and fourth scenes of the play all apparently need the inner stage. The first two of these are far too important to be merely outer scenes, especially in scene 3, a large stage being required for the different groups; while scene 4 needs furniture, as Brachiano is invited to sit down. The dumb-shows would probably be managed by the curtain over the back entrance. Some device will therefore have to be resorted to in order to clear the inner stage, and the most natural would be to close the traverse in scene 2 upon the duke's exit, and let Flamineo and Cornelia continue the scene on the outer stage; to open the inner stage again for scene 3, as far as the point where Monticelso, etc., come forward on Brachiano's exit; and yet again for the whole of scene 4. We thus obtain perfect alternation throughout.

From the point of view of editing, it is often in these cases difficult to know whether or not a new scene should be marked. In any case, the editor has nothing to do with the technicalities of the ancient stage, and either a new scene with proper exits and entrances should be given, or no notice should be taken. I think, however, that on closer examination the difficulty largely disappears, for it will be seen that two clearly differentiated cases exist. In the one case there is a clear change of scene, the more or less vague locality of the outer stage merging into the more definite one of the inner. Thus the gallery leading to the judgment-hall merges into the hall itself; the anteroom in the house of the convertites merges into Vittoria's apartment; the gallery in the duke's palace merges into the death-chamber. In these cases a new scene is absolutely necessary. On the other hand, in the cases where the traverse is merely resorted to as a device to enlarge the stage temporarily and for some particular object, to introduce on to it characters or properties which it would be awkward to move on to the outer portion, or to gain time for and indicate a subsequent change of scene, no notice need be taken by literary editors, since the use is theatrical and not dramatic, and on stages with different appliances other methods would be employed.

I now propose to take the scenes in order and discuss their relation as regards time and place.

1. Scene—Rome, where the action continues till the end of scene 11. Possibly a gallery or anteroom to a judgment-hall, not, however, the same as scene 5, since Lodovico is banished by the Pope, not Francisco, as appears from the Pope signing his pardon. More probably, however, a street, since at the opening of the play the quartos read 'Banished?' (query, not exclamation), as if Lodovico had not heard his own sentence,

[1] Even the direction here reads: 'Cornelia . . . *discovered* winding Marcello's corse.' I dare say there are others, but it is the only instance I remember at the moment where the word occurs in an old stage direction.

but had just received the news from his friends. Time—not specified, but shortly before the death of Gregory XIII. Webster, however, makes Monticelso's election follow immediately upon that event, whereas there seems in reality to have been a considerable interval. Montalto was elected on the 24th of April 1585.

2. Scene—Camillo's house or grounds. Mr. Symonds suggests the garden, which is likely enough, since a carpet and cushions are brought on to the stage. Flamineo tells his sister that 'my lord attends you in the banqueting-house,' but there is no change of scene, and the duke talks of darkness hiding Vittoria's blushes. Time—not specified. Properly an interval must be supposed, since in scene 3, which plays on the following day, it is already reported that Lodovico has turned pirate. In any case it is night.

3. Scene—a room in Francisco's palace. Time—probably the following day, since we learn in scene 2 that Isabella is in Rome, and the meeting could hardly have been postponed.

4. Scene—a room in Camillo's house. Time—the same evening, since in the preceding scene Flamineo anounced Camillo's murder for 'to-night.'

5. Scene—a gallery leading to the judgment-hall in Francisco's palace. Time—probably the following day, since news of Isabella's death arrives after the trial.

6. Scene—the hall in Francisco's house. Francisco had, of course, no jurisdiction in Rome; but the present case had been intrusted to him and Monticelso by the Pope. The incident of the stool shows that Francisco is in the position of host. Time—continuous with the preceding. I may mention that all the quartos, except that of 1672, mention Isabella among the characters that 'enter'! No doubt Zanche was intended, one actor playing the two parts, and the direction finding its way in from a stage copy.

7. Scene—probably the same as scene 5. Time—continuous with the preceding. I think it is quite necessary to mark a new scene here, not only because the inner stage is wanted again for the next scene, but that in the quarto Francisco, Monticelso, and Giovanni are left on the stage, whereas they are certainly not present during what follows. Hazlitt has supplied an exit for Giovanni for other reasons. Thus we may assume that the traverse was closed again at this point, leaving the stage the same as in scene 5. The only question is whether Lodovico and Marcello remain on the stage all the time, or whether they re-enter with the ambassadors. The former is the more probable.

8. Scene—a room in Francisco's palace. Time—possibly the same day; but it would be better to suppose an interval of at least one night, as in the following scene the duke is represented as having frequent 'recourse' to Vittoria in her confinement. No long interval can elapse, since the Pope is all the while 'on his death-bed.'

9. Scene—an anteroom in the house of convertites. Time—the same day.

10. Scene—the same, Vittoria's apartment. Time—continuous with the preceding.

11. Scene—a street or square in front of a church where the conclave is held; that is, the piazza before St. Peter's, the conclave being held in the Vatican. Time—the following day, since news of Vittoria's flight arrives during the course of the scene.

12. Scene—Padua, where the remainder of the action takes place. A room in Brachiano's palace, namely, either the palace of the Foscari in the Arena, or a house called De' Cavalli, both of which he had hired. Time—after an undefined interval occupied by the journey from Rome to Padua; in reality about six months later.

13. Scene—probably a gallery in the same. Time—immediately after the preceding.

Dumb-show. Scene—the courtyard of the palace; perhaps the Arena.

Time—continuous with the preceding.

14. Scene—probably the same as scene 13. Time—continuous with the preceding.
15. Scene—a room in the palace. Time—continuous with the preceding.
16. Scene—probably the same as scene 14. Time—probably immediately after the preceding.
17. Scene—probably the same. Time—probably immediately after the preceding.
18. Scene—Vittoria's apartment. Time—immediately after the preceding.

Thus we see that the scene lies between Rome (scenes 1-11) and Padua (scenes 12-18), while the time may be arranged as follows :—

Day I., Scene 1. Interval.
Day II., Scene 2.
Day III., Scenes 3 and 4.
Day IV., Scenes 5 to 7.
Day V., Scenes 8 to 10.
Day VI., Scene 11. Interval.
Day VII., Scenes 12 to 18.

Since the journey from Rome to Padua is made by sea—

> We may attire her in a page's suit,
> Lay her post-horse, take shipping, and amain
> For Padua—

the total duration of the action could not be less than about three weeks, even omitting the first scene, which is more or less introductory. The above analysis is of no more value than such tables usually are, for the reason that, in common with most of the dramatists of his day, the author shows a contemptuous indifference to the minutiæ of time and space.

III. General Construction.

In treating of the grouping of scenes into acts it is well to remember that, as far as the English drama is concerned, these divisions are in a large measure academic. The action was continuous, one scene succeeding another without interval. The convention of the five acts was an inheritance from the Senecan drama and from its Italian offspring. Nevertheless it must be admitted that many of our old plays seem to fall naturally into five divisions. Aristotle divided a tragedy into three parts and placed the turn of fortune in the middle. It may be questioned how far his view is borne out by the practice of the Greek tragedians; such plays as the *Electra* hardly support it. At all events it is probably more in accordance with the spirit of the romantic drama to postpone the climax and concentrate the catastrophe.

It will be well in the first place to locate the climax and the turn of fortune in the present play. The climax, the point of culmination of the plot, round which it revolves and on which it hinges, should obviously possess a dramatic value corresponding to its architectonic importance. This might at first sight lead one to the conclusion that the 'arraignment' is the climax of the play. One consideration, however, should at once suggest that this is unlikely, namely, that this scene comes early in the third act, whereas, in the Elizabethan drama, the climax is usually found in the fourth.[1] On closer inspection it will, I think, be evident that it is on the scene in the house of convertites rather than on the trial that the plot turns. It is not till the offer of the title of duchess that Vittoria has gained her end or Brachiano really won her. Again, the 'arraignment' does not stand alone. The two scenes resemble one another in having each an introductory scene leading up to it, but the trial itself is followed by the news of Isabella's death—the most admirable scene in the play—and Flamineo's feigned madness, which is closely related to it. The interest which has been wrought up to a high pitch of intensity is allowed to dissipate again; it is eminently a scene of evolution, not of climax. The scene of Brachiano's jealousy, on the other hand, leads up to the culminating point of the play, in which Vittoria attains momentarily to the height of her ambition. This point is likewise the turn of fortune, for by the very move by which the guilty couple think to triumph they step into the net woven for them by Francisco. Brachiano's words then, 'Think on a duchess' title,' are instinct with a dramatic irony which makes them a striking parallel to those with which a later dramatist closed his greatest work, 'Dem Fürsten Piccolomini.'

There can be no doubt that the climax and the turn of fortune are intended in the present play to lie at the same point, but it may well be doubted whether the latter of the two is sufficiently emphasised. The touch of irony is a subtle one, not easily perceived except in the light of subsequent events. It is not till the second scene of the last

[1] See B. Worsfold's *Principles of Criticism*, 1897, p. 211.

act that the murder of Marcello strikes the keynote of a losing game; there intervenes before that a great deal of uninteresting and rather irrelevant business, which retards the action and weakens the dramatic effect. Both the climax and the turn of fortune require greater concentration, an effect which Webster has endeavoured to attain, as far as the former is concerned, through giving greater prominence to the duke's offer to Vittoria by suppressing the actual marriage.

Having now settled the main point, we can turn to the division of the play into acts. It seems to me that if we clear our mind of the absurd arrangement of the late quarto, we can at once distinguish five distinct groups of scenes into which the play falls. The first of these, including scenes 1 and 2, introduces the tragic motive, here the unlawful love of Vittoria and Brachiano, which is the mainspring of the action. It is introduced after the accepted model of the romantic stage, a short expository introduction, which here has the additional merit of being an integral part of the action, preparing for an important scene setting forth the initial dramatic situation. Scenes 2 and 3 constitute the second group, the function of which is to set forth the tragic fault, to wit the murders of Camillo and Isabella, which supplies the matter of the tragedy. These two acts together form a sort of introduction, and may be regarded as corresponding to the δέσις or 'complication' of Aristotle. The plot is now fully before the spectator, and the action under way. In the same manner the next two acts together contain the evolution. Act III., which consists of scenes 5-7, depicts the obstacles encountered by the guilty pair; they are not defeated, but neither are they wholly successful; Vittoria is arrested, but the charge of murder has to be abandoned, the charge of incontinence remains unproven, and though she is detained in a reformatory, this does not prevent her meetings with her lover. Act IV., including scenes 8-11, contains the seeming triumph, leading up to the climax, a point at which, by an irony of fortune, the very move that appears to secure their safety, places them within the meshes of Francisco's plot. Lastly, Act. V., namely scenes 12-18, which is inordinately long, owing to the careful detail with which Webster loves to build up his scenes of horror, but which is nevertheless continuous throughout, contains the retribution and forms the catastrophe.

I append a tabular analysis giving the correspondences between the various divisions into act and scene and a few other details. In the column headed 'Staging,' inner and outer refer, of course, to the two methods of mounting a scene, on the whole stage or on the forescene only, described above, an arrow indicating an *enjambement* by means of the traverse.

WALTER WILSON GREG.

Postscript.—Webster's plays stand in urgent need of re-editing. They were first collected by Dyce in four volumes in 1830; a revised edition in one volume appeared in 1857. In 1857-58 they were re-edited in four volumes by W. C. Hazlitt. *The White Devil* was first reprinted in the third volume of the original edition of Dodsley's *Select Collection of Old Plays* in 1744; it re-appeared in the sixth volume of Reed's edition of that collection in 1780, and in the same volume of Collier's edition of 1825-27. It was also included in the third volume of *The Ancient British Drama*, edited by Sir Walter Scott in 1810. The most accessible edition is that in the *Mermaid Series* (Webster and Ford, 1 vol.). An edition of the play is in preparation for the series of *Temple Dramatists*, but as I understand that the editor is waiting till he has unearthed Webster's source, it may be some time in appearing. Dyce's edition follows the early quartos in omitting all divisions into act and scene, though he attempted to some extent to indicate the localities in his notes, and also in some instances corrected the stage directions. Hazlitt follows in the main the divisions given in the quarto of 1672, but his editing is far from satisfactory. Although his is the latest as well as the most convenient edition of the whole works, the notes in Dyce's revised one are the best at present extant. The texts themselves do not differ much.

Sc. No.	4° 1672. Act.	4° 1672. Sc.	Hazlitt. Act.	Hazlitt. Sc.	Proposed Division. Act.	Proposed Division. Sc.	Action.	Staging.	Locality.	Time.	Description of Act.	Analysis.
									ROME.			
1	I.	i.	I.	i.	I.	i.	Lodovico's banishment	outer	A street	Day I.	The tragic motive.	Introduction.
2		ii. (iii.)		ii.		ii.	Camillo hoodwinked. SEDUCTION OF VITTORIA	inuer, outer	Camillo's house, the garden.	Interval. Day II.		
3	II.	i.	II.	i.	II.	i.	BRACHIANO REJECTS ISABELLA. Camillo's mission	inner, outer	Francisco's palace, a room.	Day III.	The tragic fault.	
4	III.	i.	III.	i.		ii.	Murder of Isabella and Camillo	inner	Camillo's house, a room.	Do.		
5		ii.		ii.	III.	i.	Procession to the judgment-hall	outer	Francisco's palace, a gallery.	Day IV.	The fight for victory.	Evolution.
6		(iii.)				ii.	ARRAIGNMENT OF VITTORIA. News of Isabella's death	inuer	Do. a hall	Do.		
7						iii.	Flamineo's feigned madness	outer	Do. a gallery	Do.		
8		iv.		iii.	IV.	i.	Francisco's plot	inner	Do. a room	Day V.	The seeming triumph.	
9	IV.	i.	IV.	i.		ii.	Brachiano's jealousy. Quarrel with Flamineo	outer	House of convertites, a gallery.	Do.		[Climax.]
10				ii.		iii.	BRACHIANO PROMISES VITTORIA THE DUCHESS' TITLE	inner	Do. a room	Do.		
11		ii. (iii.)		iii.		iv.	Excommunication. Lodovico vows vengeance	out., in., out.	A street	Day VI.		
									PADUA.	Interval.		
12		iv. (v.)		iv.	V.	i.	The revels. Flamineo and Marcello quarrel	inner	Brachiano's palace, a room.	Day VII.	The retribution.	Catastrophy.
13		vi.		v.		ii.	Flamineo murders Marcello	outer	Do. a gallery.	Do.		
							Dumb-show of the Barriers	inner	Do. courtyard	Do.		
14	V.	i.	V.	i.		iii.	Brachiano poisoned	outer	Do. a gallery.	Do.		
15		(ii.)				iv.	BRACHIANO'S DEATH	inner	Do. a room	Do.		
16		iii. (iv.)				v.	Cornelia's dirge for Marcello	outer, inner	Do. a gallery.	Do.		
17		v.				vi.	Lodovico's plot overheard	outer	Do. do.	Do.		
18				ii.		vii.	DEATH OF VITTORIA AND FLAMINEO	inner	Do. a room	Do.		

ON THE DISPOSITION OF THE RIMES IN THE SESTINA.

'In der Sextine, die von Arnaut Daniel erfunden ist, weehseln in 6 Strophen 6 Reimwörter nach einer bestimmten Reihenfolge.' Thus much says A. Stimming by way of definition; he does not explain what the prineiple of the order is, nor does any other writer on metres whom I have been able to eonsult. Possibly some reader of this paper may be able to show whether the following theory will hold water or not.

The sestina finds its origin in the desire to obtain a closer unity between the different stanzas of a canzone, and to make it more of an organic whole. This could be done by making the rimes of each stanza correspond with those of every other stanza in the poem; but it also became obvious that, if the last rime of one stanza corresponded with the first rime of the next, a closer unity was to be obtained. Such an effect was produced by the 'canso redonda' among the troubadours, the general principle of which was, that the rime-order employed in the second stanza was an inversion of that employed in the first. Hence arose the use of equivocal rimes, and even of the same words with the same meaning in rime (equivocal rime being the use of the same words in different senses); and some ingenious troubadour, being dissatisfied with the canso redonda, invented the primary form of the sestina, by the simple process of making his stanzas overlap. In the canzo redonda there was a certain monotony, the same rime continually recurring at the beginning of every other stanza; whereas, by the overlapping process, each rime started a stanza in its turn. Thus, Aimeric de Belenoi's 'Al prim pres dels breus jorns braus' may be written out in overlapping form, by way of example; he uses double rimes, a masculine followed by a feminine form, which of course must be taken together. To save space we denote these double rimes by numbers 1, 2, 3, etc., and write them in parallel columns, the first left-hand column being the first stanza, and so on.

			3
		4	4
	5	5	5
1	1	1	1
2	2	2	2
3	3	3	
4	4		
5			

Thus, by means of the overlapping process, the several stanzas begin with the rimes 1, 5, 4, and 3, and, moreover, the remainder are repeated in due order, so that they were quite familiar to the hearers at the end of the poem. The system is perhaps clearer if the numbers denoting the rimes be written in a square.

1	5	4	3	
2	1	5	4	
3	2	1	5	
4	3	2	1	
5	4	3	2	

The numbers then fall diagonally one under another from left to right. On this system is arranged Dante's sestina ii., 'Amor, tu vedi ben,' as will be seen, on removing rimes which repeat themselves in the same stanza. Thus far, sestina writing appears to be a process, to say the least, somewhat mechanical.

We now come to Arnaut Daniel's sestina, which is arranged upon a slightly different

principle; if the rimes be written out as before, we have the following scheme:—

a	1	6	3	5	4	2
b	2	1	6	3	5	4
c	3	5	4	2	1	6
d	4	2	1	6	3	5
e	5	4	2	1	6	3
f	6	3	5	4	2	1

Here it will be seen that *a*, *b*, *d*, and *e* correspond diagonally (or overlap), and that if the series *c* and *f* be removed, we have a form similar to that examined above. The series *c* and *f*, however, are organic parts of the stanza, because they correspond diagonally between themselves, while the series *c* corresponds diagonally with *e*, only in the opposite direction, *i.e.* from right to left. Exactly upon this model are constructed the remaining sestine of Dante, and all those of Petrarch, without exception.

With these facts in mind, it is interesting to read U. A. Canello's theory of the sestina in his introduction to his edition of Arnaut Daniel's Poems (Halle, 1883), repeated from his *Fiorita di liriche provenzali tradotte* (Bologna, Zanichelli, 1881). 'Nella prima stanza della sestina d'Arnaldo Daniello mancano le rime, sostituite da lievi assonanze vocali e consonantiche, come; armacambra, oncle-ongla, intra-verga. Nelle stanze successive il trovatore, ch'è tormentato quasi da certe idee fisse rappresentate dalle parole finali dei versi, se le sente rimulinare in mente, se le armonizza quasi in diverse posizioni, e un po' per volta avezza sè e il lettore à sentiro anche l'armonia latente delle assonanzo speciali d'ogni stanza: nei tre versi del congedo poi egli riesce a riaccostaro definitivamente le sei idee tormentose e ad accordarle in modo a tutti sensibile: e cosi giunge a calmare e a quietare nell' armonia il tormento dell' anima sua.' This is a highly ingenious attempt to defend the sestina as a legitimate form of art; but if true in the case of Arnaut Daniel's one sestina, can it be equally true of the many which have been written by means of the mechanical mode of construction above described? Is not the æsthetic value of the sestina somewhat discounted by the fact that its form is of a piece with the acrostic and other similar puzzles for mental stone-breaking?

H. J. Chaytor.

MARLBRUCK.

In the Easter Vacation of 1898, I strayed from Heidelberg in quest of folk-songs to the tiny hamlet of Boeksehaft, as it is on the map, or more correctly Bockshof, near Grombach, in the Badische Pfalz. Bitterly disappointed I was, therefore, to find myself among a worthy family of Mennonites, whose music was not old ballads, but Sankey's Hymns, to a harmonium accompaniment; worse still, report went that there was hardly a grown girl in the village with a singing voice. But next day eight or ten girls came over to the farm from the next village (Kirchardt), to pick over the potatoes, and half in despair I went to the cellar where they were working, to see what I could learn from them. After much pressing and cajoling, the boldest started singing, and once started, I had some hours' work to take down all their songs. One seemed strangely familiar in rhythm, though not in tune:

1. Ein Fähndrich zog zum Kriege,
   Vidibum, valera, Juchheirassa,
   Ein Fähndrich zog zum Kriege,
   Wer weiss, geht er zurück?
   Wer weiss, geht er zurück?
2. Er liebt ein junges Mädchen,
   Die war so wunderschön.
3. Sie stieg auf hohen Berge,
   Dem Fähndrich nachzusehn.
4. 'Ach Fähndrich, liebster Fähndrich,
   Was bringst du Neues mir?'
5. 'Was ich dir Neues bringe
   Macht dir's die Äugelein rot.
6. Der Fähndrich liegt erschossen
   Er sieht schon längst nit mehr.
7. Ich sah ihn selbst begraben
   Von vielen Offiziern.
8. Der erste trug sein' Degen,
   Der zweite sein Pistol.
9. Der dritte trug sein Cuirass,
   Der vierte seinen Helm.
10. Über sein Grab wurd g'schossen
    Mit Pulver und mit Blei.'

(In verse 4 'Fähndrich' is obviously a slip for the usual 'Page'; verse 5, 'dir's' is the 'es' so frequent in this district and in Hessen.)

When I came to sort out my gleanings, it occurred to me that here was the old song of Marlbruck, and so indeed it proved. Marlborough is degraded to an ensign, the lady (Sarah Jennings or no) is a young girl, and the messenger page confused with the hero. The well-known 'Mirontain' has gone, and the tune is altered, and yet it is Marlbruck, and in the original metre. Now, concerning the history of Marlbruck so much has been written, that only a short recapitulation is needed here. The French song, as we know it, is said to have been composed just after the battle of Malplaquet (1709), when Marlborough was believed to be dead. (Tappert, *Wandernde Melodien*, p. 71, foll.) But even this 'original' has had a goodly line of ancestors. Charles Marelle sees in the song 'la dernière transformation et la parodie d'une romance chevaleresque et mélancolique du temps des croisades' (*Zs. d. Vereins für Volkskunde*, vi. 459). Moriz Haupt and Ferd. Wolf were also of this opinion. (Soltau, 100 *deutsche hist. Volkslieder*, Leipzig, 1836, p. 531.) Chateaubriand went further; hearing the tune in the East, he believed it must have been brought to France by Crusaders. (Scheffler, *frz. Volksdichtung*, ii. 109.) But the tune of a folk-song, which shifts and changes so much more than even the words, is an unsafe foundation for such a theory, more especially when that tune is so simple as to be almost inevitable. Another theory of its origin is that the Moors, who have a song of 'Malbrough or Mambrun,' and can even point out his tomb, brought words and music to Spain, whence they wandered to France. (Larousse, *Dictionnaire universel du 19e siècle*, Paris, 1873, art. 'Marlbrough.') Certain it is that Marlbruck is known in Spain. (Larousse, and *Zs. d. Vereins, f. Volksk.*, vi. 459.) But whether Crusaders or Moors brought it to France, and in whatever form it came thither or grew there, certainly some ancestor of our song was sung in France as early as 1563, and in honour of the Duke of Guise. (Larousse quotes this song.) Probably, beside the Duke of Guise and John Churchill, it did duty for many heroes of the hour. But a strange chance in the shape of Mme Poitrine, a farmer's wife, brought it to fame and coupled it with Churchill's name for good and all. She, the Dauphin's nurse, sang it as a lullaby, and from her the child's mother, Marie Antoinette, learnt it. It took the Queen's fancy, and became the song of the day at court, holding its own in Paris till the fall of the Bastille brought with it other fashions. (Erk-Böhme, *Deutscher Liederhort*, ii. 136.) Goethe on his French campaign heard it to weariness, and pities the English in his *Römische Elegien*, ii.:

'So verfolgte das Liedchen Malbrough den reisenden Britten
Einst von Paris nach Livorn, dann von Livorno nach Rom,
Weiter nach Napel hinunter, und wär' er nach Smyrna gesegelt
Malbrough! empfing' ihn auch dort, Malbrough! im Hafen das Lied.'

In *Über Italien* (*Volksgesang*) he tells how in 1786, in Rome, Marlborough, half French, half Italian, was everywhere to be heard.

Beaumarchais introduced it in his *Figaro*: it was Napoleon's favourite song. (Tappert, *Wandernde Melodien*, p. 71, foll.) To us the old tune savours of bank holidays or political meetings; it is our 'For he's a jolly good fellow,' and 'We won't go home till morning.'

This last is a perversion of an early English version of Marlbruck:

Marlbrook, the prince of commanders,
Has gone to the war in Flanders,
His fame is like Alexander's,
|: But when will he come home? :|
|: *He* won't *come* home till morning :|
Till daylight doth appear.[1]

(S. J. A. Fitzgerald, *Stories of Famous Songs*, p. 247.)

In Germany it was known certainly since 1785, when, according to Erk-Böhme, it appeared in *Mädchenfeier und Jünglingsweihe*; the same authority quotes broadsides of *cir.* 1786 and *cir.* 1820. Ditfurth (*die hist. Volkslieder*, 1648-1756, p. 280, foll.) dates it 1722, but leaves us uncertain to what point of the song's history this date refers. In 1791 it was sung in Constance by begging singers at Christmas-time. (Birlinger's *Alemannia*, xxii. 5....) From recent times we have German versions from the Saar district, Hungary, Silesia (three versions), Bohemia, Halle, Magdeburg, Torgau, Heegermühle, Liegnitz, Mecklenburg, and a travesty from Cologne: *Malbröck ging unger et Freikor.*

The question is, how did it spread in Germany? Prof. John Meier, by including it with the other literary productions in his *Verzeichniss A. Kunstlieder bekannter Verfasser im Volksmunde*, as No. 151, *Französisches Volkslied ins Deutsche übersetzt*, would

[1] By Francis Mahony; published in his *Reliques of Father Prout*, 1836.—Ed.

seem to take it as a translation, written down by an educated person, and published in due course. For this, its appearance in 1785 in the before-mentioned *Mädchenfeier*, manifestly a more or less literary product, would also speak. Yet I should rather believe it to have come in the old traditional fashion to enrich the *Volkslied*; wandering in by oral transmission, perhaps through Elsass-Lothringen, or carried by soldiers, who, like Goethe, learnt the song during some French campaign. The peasants of the bilingual districts on the one hand, and the soldiers, who might well have picked up so much French, on the other, would be able to sing the rhymeless song indifferently in either language. In the same way it seems to me that two songs of French-speaking Lorraine (Puymaigre, *Chansons populaires recueillis dans le Pays Messin*, pp. 25 and 174) correspond too exactly to two West German folk-songs (Wolfram, *Nassauische Volkslieder*, pp. 47 and 95) for one pair not to be unliterary translations of the other. Unliterary I say, since neither song has had the least vogue among the educated classes of Germany. Judging from their rhymeless state, so unusual in the *Volkslied*, and from the fact that they appear only in recent German collections of folk-songs, I should say they were imported from France. But let the reader judge for himself:

1. Soldat revenant de la guerre
   Coucou
   Un pied chaussé et l'autre nu
   Coucon, corna, ricoucou.

2. Je reviens de la guerre
   'Hôtesse, avez-vous du vin blanc?'
   'Soldat, avez-vous de l'argent?'

3. 'De l'argent je n'en ai guère,
   J'engagerai mes pistolets,
   Mon manteau et mon cheval blanc.'

4. Soldat se mit à table
   'J'ai mon mari qui est à l'armée
   Il vous ressemble, je crois que c'est vous.'

5. 'Quand je suis parti pour la guerre
   Je n'avais laissé qu'un enfant.
   Et t'en voilà trois à present.

6. Si je savais où est le père
   Je tuerais le père et la mère,
   J'engagerais les trois enfants.

7. J'en mettrais un dans les trompettes,
   Un autre dans la cavalerie,
   Et l'autre il servira aussi.'

1. Soldat kam aus dem Kriege,
   Hurrah!
   Zerrissen, zerlumpt kam er es daher;
   'Mein lieber Soldat, wo kommst du her?'
   Hurrah, hurrah, hurrah.

2. 'Ich komme wohl aus dem Kriege her,
   Ich habe gedient dem Kaiser sechs Jahr;
   Das zeiget mein Pass und mein Abschied mir an.'

3. Soldat ging in das Wirtshaus,
   Fing an zu singen, fing an zu trinken;
   Frau Wirtin fing zu weinen an.

4. 'Frau Wirtin, warum weinet sie?
   Weinet sie um dieses Glas Bier?
   Glaubt sie, sie kriegt kein Geldchen dafür?'

5. 'Ich weine nicht um dieses Glas Bier,
   Ich wein um einen Mann, der mich es verliess,
   Ich glaub' fürwahr ihr seid es gewiss.'

6. 'Frau, wo kommen die Kinderlein her?
   Zwei die hinterliess ich dir,
   Ich hab' gesehn, du hast ihr'r vier.'

7. 'Ei, hab ich nicht ein Bricfelein?
   Darinnen steht, ihr seid gestorben,
   Da hat mich ein andrer Mann geworben.'

8. 'Frau, wir wollen die Kinderchen teilen,
   Den ältsten Sohn, den nehm' ich mir,
   Die andern drei behältst du dir.

9. Dem Herzog ist schon angezeigt,
   Bei Castel marschieren wir über den Rhein,
   Ade, meine Frau und Kinderlein.'

It is the familiar Enoch-Arden-Auld-Robin-Gray story, and I think most will agree that the German version, if translated from the French, has improved on the original, substituting a certain dignity and pathos for the not very cleanly satire of the other. In the following there is less difference in tone; perhaps the German is rather more bourgeois and burlesque:

Trois jeunes tambours
  revenaient de la guerre,
    ran ran ran rataplan
    revenaient de la guerre.
Le plus jeune des trois avait une rose, &c.

Vint à passer la fille du roi.
'—Jeune tambour, veux tu me donner ta rose?'
'Fille du roi, veux tu z'être ma maîtresse?'

'Jeune tambour demande-le z'à mon père.'

Es waren drei Tambor'n, die
  reisten in die Fremde,
  ridirom, ridirom, ridirombombom,
  die reisten in die Fremde.
Der jüngste von den drei'n, der liebt ein schönes Mädchen.

'Sag' an, du schöne Dam', kann ich dich auch wohl kriegen?'
'Willst du das Mädel hab'n, musst du den Alten fragen.'

'Sire le roi, veux-tu me donner ta fille?'

'Jeune tambour, tu n'es pas assez riche.'

'Sire le roi, je suis plus riche que vous,

J'ai trois vaisseaux sur la mer jolie,

Un chargé d'or, et l'autre d'argent fine,

Et un de diamants pour ma maîtresse.'

'Jeune tambour, tiens, voilà ma fille!'
'Sire le roi, je vous la remercie.
Dans mon pays 'l y en a de plus jolies.'

'Sag' an, du alter Herr, kann ich die Tochter kriegen?'
'Sag' an, du junger Herr, was ist denn dein Vermögen?'
'Was mein Vermögen ist? Die Trommel und zwei Schlägel.'
'Wenn das dein Vermögen ist,
Kannst du meine Tochter nicht kriegen.'
'Ach nein, mein lieber Mann,
Ich hab' noch eins vergessen:
Mein Vater und der ist
Der König von Italien.'
'Wenn das dein Vater ist,
Kannst du meine Tochter kriegen.'
'Ach nein, mein lieber Mann, ich will deine Tochter nicht haben.
Bei uns zu Haus in Land, da giebt's noch schönre Mädchen.'

The last part of the German version corresponds rather more closely to another from Retonféy:

'Joli tambour, dis moi qui est ton père?'
'Sire le roi, c'est le roi d'Angleterre,'
'Joli tambour, tu auras donc ma fille';

and so forth (Puymaigre, p. 176).

It is noteworthy that, like Marlbruck, these too are soldiers' songs.

Another piece of evidence that strengthens me in this opinion, is that Weyden (*Köln Vorzeit*, p. 39) says, apropos of the Cologne travesty of Marlbruck, 'auf ähnliche Weise sind die meisten französischen Revolutionslieder in cölnischer Mundart auf eine höchst witzige Art travestirt.' True, these may be the lampoons of some local journalist or wit, but it argues a widespread knowledge of these French songs in Western Germany, that a large enough audience should be found to appreciate the lampoons and transmit them orally.

A further trace of the *Revolutionslieder* is to be found in this Kirchardt Marlbruck, and in very many German folk-songs. In the harmless if not inane 'Juchheirassa' of the refrain is the mark of the terrible

'Ah ça ira, ça ira, ça ira
Les aristocrats on les pendra.'

The transition stage we find in a Swiss song:

Saira—Saira—Sairassa,
Geld ist besser als Assigna,
Assigna ist Lumpegeld,
Patriote ziehnd i's Feld,
Ohni Strümpf und ohni Schue
Laufed sie der Heimat zue.

Gell du Mueter? 's ist kei Sünd
Wenn me Saira, Saira singt?
Saira, Saira mues me singe
Wenn me will zum Kaiser springe.

(L. Tobler, *Schweizer Volkslieder* (1882), i. 70.)

But all this seems a far cry from Boeksehaft, the half-lit potato cellar, and the singers with their handkerchiefs tied over their heads.

M. E. MARRIAGE.

NOTE.—Since this article was written an important essay by A. Kopp, 'Der Gassenhauer auf Marlbruck,' has appeared in *Euphorion* (vol. vi. p. 276). This refers to an earlier German version than any above mentioned (probably the earliest printed) in the *Frauenzimmeralmanach* for 1784, and to a great number of broadsheet versions dating from the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries.

THE 'NIBELUNGENLIED' IN ENGLISH.[1]

THE existence of the mediæval German classics seems to have been unknown in England until the second decade of the nineteenth century. In Berington's *Literary History of the Middle Ages*, 1814, not a single Old German work is named, and that the author was unaware even of the discovery of the *Nibelungenlied* appears in the words with which German literature is dismissed in Book iv. p. 465: 'I have little to say on the state of the Spanish and German languages, for as yet (up to 1450) nothing worthy of notice had been written in either. . . . In Germany, an undue preference to

[1] *The Lay of the Nibelungs*, metrically translated from the Old German text by Alice Horton and edited by Edward Bell, M.A., to which is prefixed the essay on the Nibelungen Lied by Thomas Carlyle. (George Bell and Sons, London, 1898. 5s.)

Latin, and in this preference itself an absence of taste continued to oppose a barrier to improvement.'[1] Berington's ignorance is strange, in view of the fact that the *Nibelungenlied* was already attracting much attention in Germany; a MS. of it had been discovered by Obereit as early as 1755; it was published in part by Bodmer two years later, in full by Müller in 1782, and again in 1810 by the indefatigable von der Hagen, who had three years previously produced the first complete translation.

The same year, however, in which the *Literary History* appeared witnessed the publication of a large quarto volume, edited by Henry Weber, R. Jamieson, and W. Scott, bearing the title: 'Illustrations of Northern Antiquities from the earlier Teutonic and Scandinavian Romances, with translations of Metrical Tales from the Old German, Danish, Swedish, and Icelandic Languages, with Notes and Dissertations.' The greater part is devoted to Old German, and is the work of Weber, comprising an introductory chapter 'On the Antient Teutonic Poetry and Romance,' practically an inventory of the then known literary monuments, followed by detailed accounts of the *Heldenbuch*, *Nibelungenlied*, *Klage*, and *Hildebrandslied*, interspersed with verse translations. In the summary of the *Nibelungenlied* the division of the original into 'Adventures' is retained, and metrical renderings are numerous, while three stanzas, describing the appearance of Kriemhild on the occasion of her first meeting with Siegfried, are quoted in full, 'lest the author of the abstract should be suspected of embellishing.' Weber unfortunately misinterpreted many passages, and his notes are sometimes misleading; but such errors are, after all, quite excusable in a work written when the study of Old German was in its infancy. The form of his verse renderings is based on that of the original, though it differs from it in the fourth line of each stanza, and is more irregular (*e.g.* the first half of a line sometimes contains four stressed syllables). These lines from Adventure I. are a fair sample:

One night the queen Chrimhilt dreamt her, as she lay,
How she had trained and nourished a falcon wild and gay,
When suddenly two eagles fierce the gentle hawk have slain:
Never, in this world, felt she such bitter pain.

To her mother, dame Uta, she told her dream with fear:
Full mournfully she answered to what the maid did speir,[2]—
'The falcon whom you nourished, a noble knight is he;
God take him to his ward! thou must lose him suddenly.'

'What speak you of the knight? dearest mother say:
Without the love of champion, to my dying day,
Ever thus fair will I remain nor take a wedded fere,
To gain such pain and sorrow, though the knight were without peer.'

'Speak thou not too rashly,' her mother spake again;
'If ever in this world thou heartfelt joy wilt gain,
Maiden must thou be no more; leman must thou have:
God will grant thee for thy mate some gentle knight, and brave.'

In spite of all faults, Weber's book gives a fair general idea of the contents, style, and value of the poems with which it deals, and was for many years practically the only English recognition of Old German poetry. It does not seem to have met with the success hoped for by its painstaking editors, for there has been no second edition, nor was it followed, so far as I know, by a corresponding volume of Slavonic and Celtic literature, as purposed in the event of its favourable reception; at any rate, William Taylor of Norwich, the author of an *Historic Survey of German Poetry*, in three volumes (1828-30), does not seem to know it, for he devotes a total of about a dozen lines to the *Nibelungenlied* (vol. i. pp. 98 and 139), not one and a half only as Carlyle says.[3]

But in 1831 Germany's national epos was once more brought before the English-reading public, this time by the master-hand of Carlyle, in a review of Simrock's translation into modern German[4]; as this essay forms the only introduction to Miss Horton's translation, with the exception of a few additions by Mr. Bell in the preface and footnotes, a short survey of it is necessary. After a few observations on the researches already made in Germany, and on the inadequate notice with which the subject had been favoured in England,

[1] The second edition (1846), and the third (1883), are mere reprints of the first, except that an index was added.

[2] The frequent introduction of Scotch words is trying to the Southern reader, for whose benefit a glossary is added at the end of the volume.

[3] Cf. Carlyle's unduly severe criticism of Taylor's work in the *Edinburgh Review*, No. 105, 1831, reprinted among the Critical Essays.

[4] *Westminster Review*, No. 29, reprinted among the Critical Essays. Actually Simrock's translation is only once mentioned in the course of the article as being the latest of many.

Carlyle makes it his first care to conduct us as far as necessary into the 'weltering chaos of antique tradition' composing Teutonic mythology. This he achieves by the curious method of epitomising the contents of three of the romances in the *Heldenbuch*,[1] viz. *Kaiser Otnit*, *Hugdietrich und Wolfdietrich*, and *Der grosse Rosengarten*, all of them of later date than the *Nibelungenlied*, and teeming with dwarfs, giants, dragons, and the most singular adventures. A dwarf, Elberich, appears in the first, though in a character very different from that of Alberich in the *Nibelungenlied*; Wolfdietrich, in the second, is supposed by Carlyle to become 'one day the renowned Dietrich of Bern,' though the similarity of name seems to be the only connecting link; in the third, we do meet with a large number of the names of leading characters in the *Nibelungenlied*, but not in such a connection as to throw much light on the latter. Next follows an account of Siegfried's early adventures, as related in *Hürnen Seyfrid* (Horny Siegfried), a tangled composition—extant in prints of the sixteenth century—of the same type as the *Heldenbuch* romances, but having a nearer connection with the *Nibelungenlied*; its introduction here avoids the interruption of the story later. And now we come at last to the epos itself, his account of which, though marred by technical mistakes,[2] is unsurpassed in force and charm. In his abstract of the contents Carlyle lays considerable stress on the dramatic character of the poem, of which, as he says, 'those thirty-nine *Aventiuren* (Adventures) . . . might be so many scenes in a tragedy,' and he enlivens his summary by happy turns and comments of his own that bring the characters even nearer to us than does the original. He renders into verse thirty-eight stanzas (dealing for the most part with the crossing of the Danube), and into prose six (Siegfried and Kriemhild's first meeting). The prose translation — apart from two slight inaccuracies and the turning of *degen* by the German word *Recken*, for which he seems to have taken a great liking—is a close rendering into suitable straightforward Saxon-English. His verse translation is not so successful. The metre he uses is roughly described by the words he himself applies to the Old German poem: 'It runs on in more or less regular Alexandrines, with a cæsural pause in each, where the capital letter occurs.' In some cases he has striven to give a translation too literal for verse, when his language tends to be not only antique but fantastic. The first two stanzas run as follows:

We find in ancient story Wonders many told,
Of heroes in great glory With spirit free and bold;
Of joyances and high-tides, Of weeping and of woe,
Of noble Recken striving, Mote ye now wonders know.

A right noble maiden Did grow in Burgundy,
That in all lands of earth Nought fairer mote there be;
Chriemhild of Worms she hight, She was a fairest *wife*;
For the which must warriors A many lose their life.

A footnote explains that *wife* is used in the general sense 'woman,' in order to keep a rime corresponding to *wîp* : *lîp*. Still, the general standard reached is decidedly higher than this. Compare the striking description of Hagen, as the four heroes stand awaiting admission to the castle of the Amazonian Brünhild (Bartsch's edition, *Der Nibelunge Nôt*, Leipzig, 1870. Stanza 413):

Der dritte der gesellen der ist sô gremelîch,
unt doch mit schœnem lîbe, küneginne rîch.
von swinden sînen blicken, der er sô vil getuot,
er ist in sînen sinnen, ich wæne, grimmè gemüot;

with Carlyle's rendering:

The third of those companions He is of aspect stern,
And yet with lovely body, Rich queen, as ye might discern;
From those *his rapid glances*, For the eyes nought rest in him,
Meseems this foreign Recke Is of temper fierce and grim.

Or again, compare the stanza in which

[1] These, and a fourth, *Laurin*, which Carlyle only mentions, are abstracted in Weber's *Northern Antiquities*. It may well have been this book that first drew his attention to the Nibelungen story; at any rate, it is frequently referred to in the essay, and it is noteworthy that the order in which the abstracts stand in *Northern Antiquities* is that which Carlyle follows. He had, however, certainly studied the Middle High German original for himself, probably in the edition of von der Hagen, who is quoted and referred to even more frequently than Weber, and whose zealous labours Carlyle regards with admiration and wonder.

[2] Such as his faulty description of the Nibelungen metre, quoted below. Long vowels are never marked when words are quoted; *recken* is said to have the same root as *rich*; the idiomatic use of *lîp* with a Genitive or Possessive Pronoun, to signify an individual and not his body, is misunderstood; *wîsiu wîp* is translated 'white Merwomen'; (*künege*) *edel unde rîch*, 'kings noble and rich'; *als ie diu liebe leide zaller iungeste gît*, 'in grief . . . had ended, as all love is wont to do.'

Hagen, undeterred by the warning of the mermaids, and scorning to repeat it to his master, asks without further ado to be shown how the Danube may be crossed (Bartsch, 1543):

Dô sprach in grimmem muote der küene Hagene
'daz wære mînen hêrren müelich ze sagene,
daz wir zen Hiunen solden vliesen alle den lîp.
nu zeige uns überz wazzer, daz aller wîseste wîp';

with:

Then spake Von Troneg Hagen, His wrath did fiercely swell:
'Such tidings to my master I were right loath to tell,
That in King Etzel's country We all must lose our life:
Yet show me over the water, Thou wise all-knowing *wife*';

where, however, the abruptness of *nu zeige*, etc., is not reproduced. The article concludes with a summary of the results of von der Hagen's researches on the age, sources, and development of the poem.

The questions now arise: How far does Carlyle's essay fall short of being a satisfactory introduction to a translation of the *Nibelungenlied*? and do Mr. Bell's additions cover all that is lacking? In his preface (p. x) the editor states that 'it has been thought well to prefix to the volume this essay of Carlyle's, because, though it was written more than sixty years ago, when the subject had attracted but little attention, it gives in a sympathetic manner, yet in a style full of characteristic humour, an account of the relations between this poem and other German mediæval rhymes, founded on kindred subjects.' But, after all, these fanciful romances help very little towards a right understanding of the poem; it is the summary of the Nibelungen story that has permanent worth, and Mr. Bell must be congratulated on an introduction so well calculated to whet the reader's appetite for the enjoyment of the translation.

In an ideal introduction we should expect, first of all, accuracy and scientific treatment.[1] The former might have been attained by means of a few notes correcting Carlyle's errors of seventy years ago[2]; the latter could have been introduced here only at the expense of sacrificing the essay. With regard to the subject-matter I may perhaps suggest a rough scheme of the ground that should, in my opinion, be covered.[3]

A. The Saga as a whole: (1) A brief account of the Nibelungen Saga as contained in the most important works belonging to the cycle, noting the main divergences and agreements. (2) A discussion of the material of which the Saga is composed, historical and mythological.

B. The poem itself: (1) An account of the *chief* MSS. and their inter-relation. (2) Date and place of origin; authorship. (3) General description of the style, language, and form, with examples.

C. A survey of the *main* editions, translations, etc., followed by some account of the use made of the story by later writers.

It may be objected that such completeness is unusual and out of place; that most people would be bored before they had read half through such a compilation; but surely that would depend largely on the style and arrangement adopted. Carlyle's essay touches on most of these points without growing dull; and the division of the material into sections would enable the 'general reader' to avoid what would not interest him. Many people habitually skip the introduction; some of the rest might be led to become students, and students themselves would find all necessary information and references.

A (1) is not adequately treated either in Carlyle's essay or in the preface; but with regard to A (2) the case stands somewhat better. Von der Hagen's theories of the mythological groundwork are summed up by Carlyle, and it is to be regretted that the editor did not add a survey of the advances made later by Lachmann, W. Müller, R. von Muth, Heinzel, Henri Lichtenberger (*Le Poème et la Légende des Nibelungen*, Paris, 1891), and others; of the historical personages Carlyle recognises Attila and Theodoric, while a footnote by Mr. Bell mentions the defeat of the Burgundians by the Huns in 437 A.D., and the occurrence of the names Godomar, Gislahar, and Gundahar in the *Lex Burgundionum*. The only other certainly historical person is Pilgerin, Bishop of Passau from 971 to 991 A.D., mentioned in the preface. Of B (1) Carlyle says nothing, but the editor's preface contains a brief notice of the three chief MSS., 'A,' 'B,' and 'C,' of which the second, as

[1] Even for the sake of the general reader, whose food may as well be wholesome, if thin. The student rarely receives enough consideration in the introductions to English books.

[2] The only correction made is a not quite satisfactory description of the metre of the original (Editor's Preface, pp. ix, x).

[3] As, for instance, in Zarncke's large edition, Leipzig, ^{6}1887; or Piper's edition in Kürschner's *National-Litteratur* series, Berlin and Stuttgart, 1889.

edited by Bartsch, is the basis of Miss Horton's translation. A good feature is the reproduction of a page of this MS. after a facsimile in Dr. Otto Henne am Rhyn's *Kulturgeschichte*; it is a pity that the transcript is not more exact.[1] What information Carlyle was in a position to offer about B (2) is now largely out of date; the claims of some of the possible authors mentioned by him are finally disposed of; yet the editor's remark that 'so far as concerns the authorship of the poem, as it now exists, nothing has been discovered since Carlyle's time' is true, if only positive results are considered. Of the many theories connected with this subject, Lachmann's *Liedertheorie* is noticed in the preface, but the labours of his followers and opponents are passed over, not excepting even Bartsch's views. As for B (3), the style and language of the poem are well characterised in Carlyle's essay; Mr. Bell improves on his description of the versification by quoting a normal strophe, and marking the stressed syllables with accents, but does not give a technical account. In place of C we have the few out-of-date references of Carlyle, while, at the end of the editor's preface, students are referred to 'the works of Rasszman (*sic!*) and Simrock,' to Magnússon and Morris's translations of the Icelandic Sagas, to Professor Ker's *Epic and Romance* (which, however, takes but little notice of the *Nibelungenlied* or any other old German epic), and to Miss Weston's excellent *Legends of the Wagner Drama*. In addition, the five[2] previous English translations are noticed at the beginning of the preface, by Birch, Lettsom, Mr. Foster-Barham, 'Mr. Auber Forestier'—the *nom de plume* of Annie Aubertine Woodward —and Miss Armour, of which the last two are prose. On the whole, in spite of the fact that the suggested ideal is not attained, the combination of Carlyle's essay with the editor's preface provides an introduction above the average, and in advance of those of the previous translators.

Proceeding now to the translation, we find it stated in the preface (p. ix) that Miss Horton's aim has been the highest possible, viz. to reproduce the manner, matter, and metre of the original. The success with which she has caught the spirit of the Middle High German poem may be seen by a comparison of the following passages (quoted from Bartsch's edition) with her renderings. The first is taken from the description of Kriemhild and Siegfried immediately before their first meeting, strophes 281-286:

Nu gie diu minneclîche alsô der morgenrôt
tuot ûz den trüeben wolken. dâ sciet von maneger nôt
der si dâ truog in herzen und lange het getân:
er sach die minneclîchen nu vil hêrlîchen stân.

Jâ lûhte ir von ir wæte vil manec edel stein:
ir rôsenrôtiu varwe vil minneclîchen scein.
ob iemen wünschen solde, der kunde niht gejehen
daz er ze dirre werelde hete iht scœners gesehen.

Sam der liehte mâne vor den sternen stât,
des scîn sô lûterliche ab den wolken gât,
dem stuont si nu gelîche vor maneger frouwen guot.
des wart dâ wol gehœhet den zieren heleden der muot.

Die rîchen kamerære sach man vor in gân.
die hôhgemuoten degene diene wolden daz niht lân,
sine drungen dâ si sâhen die minneclîchen meit.
Sîvride dem herren wart beide lieb unde leit.

Er dâhte in sînem muote 'wie kunde daz ergân,
daz ich dich minnen solde? daz ist ein tumber wân.
sol aber ich dich vremeden, sô wære ich sanfter tôt.'
er wart von den gedanken vil dicke bleich unde rôt.

Dô stuont sô minneclîche daz Sigemundes kint,
sam er entworfen wære an ein permint
von guotes meisters listen, als man ime jach,
daz man helt deheinen nie sô scœnen gesach;

which Miss Horton translates thus:

Then came the lovely maiden: even as morning-red
From sombre clouds out-breaking. And many a sorrow fled
From him whose heart did hold her, and eke so long had held:
When thus the winsome fair one before him he beheld.

Upon her raiment glittered full many a precious stone:
Her rosy blushing colour with lovely radiance shone.
Though any would deny it he could not but confess,
That on this earth he never had seen more loveliness.

Just as the moon in brightness excels the brightest stars,
And, suddenly outshining, athwart the clouds appears;
So seemed she now, compared with dames of fairest guise.
Then did our gallant hero feel his bold spirits rise.

[1] Unmistakable errors are: *chuneginne* (*chünegiinne*), l. 3; *kunich* (*künich*), l. 4; *Helchen* (*helchen*), l. 9; *grosiu* (*groziu*), l. 12; *heren* (*heten*), l. 15; *een* (*cen*), l. 16; *Sas* (*S-az*), l. 25; *friundschefte* (*friuntschefte*), l. 30; *heidenissche* (*heidenisschen*), l. 35.

[2] There is a sixth by Lydia Hands, entitled *Golden Threads from an Ancient Loom* (London, 1880), a prose version abridged, re-cast, and adapted for the use of young readers.

One saw before her marching the chamberlains, in state,—
But the high-mettled warriors their order would not wait:
They thronged to where, in passing, the fair maid they could see.
The while Sir Siegfried suffered both joy and misery.

Sadly he thought within him: 'How can it ever be?
It is mere foolish dreaming that I should marry thee!
Yet to be still a stranger!—then were I better dead!'
And, thinking so, his colour did change 'twixt white and red.

There stood the son of Siegmund; as winsome did he look
As if his form were limnèd upon a parchment-book,
By hand of cunning master; and all men said of him,
That there was no man like him, so fine and fair of limb;

in words all but as simple and graceful as those of her original. Equally faithful is her reproduction of the simple language marking the tragic passages. Compare the vivid, but almost cold-blooded, picture of the terrible night passed by the Burgundian heroes in the burning hall, strophes 2113-2120:

Ir einer sprach dar inne 'wir müezen ligen tôt.
waz hilfet uns daz grüezen daz uns der künec enbôt?
mir tuot von starker hitze der durst sô rehte wê,
des wæn mîn leben sciere in disen sorgen zergê.'

Dô sprach von Tronege Hagene 'ir edeln ritter guot,
swen der durst twinge, der trinke hie daz pluot.
daz ist in solher hitze noch bezzer danne wîn.
ez enmac an disen zîten et nu niht bézzer gesîn.'

Dô gie der recken einer da er einen tôten vant:
er kniete im zuo der wunden, den helm er abe gebant:
dô begonde er trinken daz vliezende pluot.
swie ungewon ers wære, ez dûhte in grœzlîchen guot.

'Nu lône iu got, her Hagene,' sprach der müede man,
'daz ich von iuwer lêre sô wol getrunken hân.
mir ist noch vil selten gescenket bezzer wîn.
leb ich deheine wîle, ich sol iu immer wœge sîn.'

Dô dandern daz gehôrten, daz ez in dûhte guot,
dô wart ir michel mêre die trunken ouch daz pluot.
dâ von gewan vil krefte ir etslîches lîp.
des engalt an lieben friunden sît vil manec wætlîchez wîp.

Daz fiwer viel genôte ûf si in den sal:
dô leitensiz mit schilden von in hin zetal.
der rouch und ouch diu hitze in tâten beidiu wê.
ich wæn der jâmer immer mêr an heleden ergê.

Dô sprach von Tronege Hagene 'stét zuo des sales want,
lât niht die brende vallen ûf iuwer helmbant.
tret si mit den füezen tiefer in daz pluot.
ez ist ein übel hôhzît die uns diu künegimme tuot.'

In sus getânen leiden in doch der naht zeran.
noch stuont vor dem hûse der küene spileman
und Hagene sîn geselle, geleinet über rant:
si warten scaden mêre von den ûz Etzelen lant;

with the following:

Quoth one within the palace: 'Needs must we all lie dead!
What profits us the greeting that from the king we had?
The burning heat so sorely with thirst doth torture me,
I trow that in this torment my life will quickly flee.'

Then Hagen spake, of Tronjé: 'Ye noble knights and good,
Whoe'er by thirst is troubled may quench it here with blood.
In heat like this 'tis better than wine of any kind,
And at this time, moreover, no better may ye find.'

So went one of the warriors to where a corpse he found:
He knelt to where the wound was, his helmet he unbound,
And then he fell to drinking the oozing stream of blood;
Unused as he was to it, he thought it passing good.

'Requite thee God, Sir Hagen,' that man so weary spake,
'Seeing that thou hast taught me so well my thirst to slake!
A better wine right seldom hath been pour'd out for me.
Live I for some while longer, I'll aye be bound to thee.'

The rest being told about it, and how he found it good,
Then were there many others who also drank the blood.
Thereby each one among them began to gain new life—
In dear ones it was paid for by many a goodly wife.

Within the hall about them the sparks fell thick around,
Upon their shields they caught them and turn'd them to the ground.
The fire and smoke together distress'd them terribly.
I trow that heroes never felt greater misery.

Then Tronian Hagen shouted: 'Stand closer to the wall!
Let not the burning embers upon your helm-bands fall,
But in the blood more deeply trample them with your feet:
This feast the queen hath made us is but a sorry treat!'

In such distressful doings the night to ending wore,
And still the gallant minstrel kept watch the house before
With Hagen his companion; upon their shields they leant,
From Etzel's folk awaiting some further detriment.

No verse translation could be closer than this, line for line, often, indeed, half-line for half-line; to have achieved this without any serious straining of the metre employed is a real triumph on the part of the translator. The only liberty taken in the above extracts is the use of impure rimes; stone —shone, stars—appears, dead—had; good —blood (three times), that is to say, six out of twenty-eight rimes are incorrect, a rather high proportion, especially in face of the general accuracy of the original.[1] Sometimes, however, a literal translation is paid for too dearly, as in stanza 451, where the cæsura is badly managed (Brünhild preparing for the contest with Gunther):

Around her snow-white arms she began her sleeves to wind,
And on her hand she fastened the buckler to her mind;
Then high she poised her javelin; and so began the fight.
Gunther, and Siegfried likewise, did dread Brunhilda's spite.

There is one pitfall for the student of Middle High German which none of the English translators of the *Nibelungenlied* have altogether escaped, though I think Lettsom has stumbled less frequently than any of the others. This is the temptation to apply the Modern German meaning to words whose form has remained unchanged, or nearly so, but whose meaning has changed considerably. It is, therefore, important that an intending translator should first make a careful study of these words, as well as of the technical and idiomatic expressions with which medieval German poetry abounds[2]; otherwise the suitability of a word in its context will often be thought doubtful, a phrase appearing either vague or redundant, or else a totally wrong turn will be given to the sense of a passage.

In the early portion of her translation, Miss Horton has fallen into some of the usual errors, *e.g.*: 3, 3, *ir edel lîp*—'her noble form and face'; 4, 1, *drie künege edel unde rîch*—'three noble kings and wealthy'; 5, 1, *die herren wâren milte*—'these princes were right gentle'; 7, 1, *ein rîchiu küneginne*—'a queen exceeding rich'; 9, 2, *Dancwart der vil snelle*—'Sir Dankwart the swift-footed'; 42, 2, *den rîchen herren*—'the rich nobles'; but later on such mistakes are much less frequent. There are a number of other misinterpretations, which would sometimes have been avoided had annotated editions been referred to by the translator. Thus in 22, 3, *waz êren an im wüehse* (what fine qualities developed in him (becomes: 'How noble was his stature'; in 39, 1 and 2, *Der herre hiez lîhen Sîvrit den jungen man | lant unde bürge, als er ê hat getân* (Siegfried's father caused him to give the nobles their lands and castles in fief, as he had previously done himself) is rendered: 'Then did the king make over to young Siegfried, the loan | Of both his lands and castles, as he afore had done'; in 121, 1, *uns mac wol wesen leit*—'Well do we to be wrath'; in 277, 1-3, *Vil manec recke tumber des tages hete muot, | daz er an ze sehene den frouwen wære guot, | daz er dâ für niht næme eins rîchen küneges lant.* (That day many a young warrior felt that he would not take a kingdom in exchange for the fine impression he would make on the ladies)—'And many a knight on that day had younger gladly been, | That he might be of women more favourably seen; | Instead whereof he'd care not a kingdom rich to own!' Similarly 986, 2; 986, 4; 2272, 4.

The quotations given above show that the metrical form used by Miss Horton as equivalent to that of the *Nibelungenlied* consists in stanzas of four lines, each containing six ascending (iambic) feet; every line, including the fourth, is divided by a cæsura into two equal parts, except that the first has an extra syllable before the cæsura, which is thus made ringing like that of the original. The rimes are all masculine, like those of the Middle High German poem. As for the number of feet in the last half-line, the difficulties of a verse rendering are so great that the translator may certainly be allowed some slight alteration of the form, especially when, as in this case, the metrical laws of the original cannot be made to apply to the language of the translation, and when the result is so close and spirited a version as Miss Horton's. But perhaps some future translator will attempt for the *Nibelungenlied* what Miss Nichols

[1] Bartsch (*Untersuchungen über das Nibelungenlied*, pp. 180 ff.), shows that the few impure rimes are nearly all cases in which a short vowel rimes with a long one of the same quality, *e.g. man—stân, sîn—in.*

[2] See Dr. Oskar Hartung's *Die deutschen Altertümer des Nibelungenliedes und der Kudrun.* (Cöthen, 1894), a compilation of such words and phrases, with explanations, examples, and a useful index.

has recently achieved for *Gudrun*,[1] and actually reproduce the Nibelungen strophe as nearly as is possible in Modern English. The lengthened final line of each strophe might be found strange at first, but the reader would rapidly grow accustomed to it; in a perusal of Miss Nichols' *Gudrun*, one is soon reconciled to even the five feet of the last half-line. At the same time one of the prominent features of the poem would be preserved, and a welcome element of variety introduced; some degree of monotony is quite inevitable in a regular measure of riming couplets for over nine thousand lines. These two purposes might, perhaps, be further served by not adhering too rigidly to any one type of metrical foot,[2] and cæsural rime might be employed where it occurs in the original.

[1] *Gudrun*, a mediæval epic, translated from the Middle High German by Mary Pickering Nichols. Boston and New York, 1899.

[2] Lettsom has sometimes varied the metre very successfully in the manner here suggested, besides occasionally allowing four feet to the last half-line (*e.g.* strophes 291, 1894), without any disagreeable effect. I hope to deal fully with his and the other translations in a work containing a critical account of English and American publications dealing with Old German.

The appearance of Miss Horton's translation in Bohn's Library is a hopeful sign of the times. The importance of the study of German is universally recognised, while intending teachers realise the value of a training extending beyond a mere conversational knowledge and a general acquaintance with the modern classics. The study of Old German literature is now in the curriculum of our Universities, and the enjoyment of that literature is being made possible for the ordinary public by such publications as the one here reviewed. In translations of the Middle High German epics alone there have appeared in the last six years Wolfram von Esehenbach's *Parzival* (verse) and Gottfried von Strassburg's *Tristan* (prose) by Miss Weston, the *Nibelungenlied* by Miss Armour (prose), by Miss Horton (verse), and the *Gudrun* (verse) by Miss Nichols, as well as a second edition of Mr. Foster-Barham's (No. 51 of Sir John Lubbock's Hundred Best Books), and a fourth of Birch's *Nibelungenlied*. But there is much still awaiting the translator, and an appreciative public to welcome the fruit of his labours.

F. E. Sandbach.

REVIEWS

The Devil and the Vice in the English Dramatic Literature before Shakespeare. By L. W. Cushman. Max Niemeyer, Halle a. S. Studien zur Englischen Philologie, herausgegeben von Lorenz Morsbach, No vi.

In the preface to this monograph on *The Devil and the Vice*, Dr. Cushman makes the claim that 'a study of these figures at first hand has led to a new view,' this 'new view' being that 'the appearance of the Devil in the non-dramatic as well as in the dramatic literature is limited to a definite range; as a dramatic figure the Devil falls more and more into the background, the Vice is distinct in origin and function from the Devil and from the clown.' The last three words of this summary require some little safe-guarding, as it would be difficult to prove, for instance, how 'Merry-Report the Vice' in John Heywood's *Play of the Wether* differs in 'function' from a clever and merry clown, but the rest of the prououucement is a sufficieutly accurate conclusion from the evidence of extant plays. Dr. Cushman's summary of what he asserts to be the 'quite uniform' opiuion of 'the critics, historians, and teachers of literature,' is hardly so carefully stated. Accordiug to this opiniou, we are told, 'the Devil enjoyed, both on the stage and elsewhere, a great and ever-increasing popularity; the figure of the Vice was developed from that of the Devil, or the Vice was simply the Devil as buffoon, and, as such, became the forerunner of the clown: he is also the forerunner of the villain and Punch.' If this is indeed the uniform opinion of the critics, historians, and teachers of literature, most of them have expressed it with such a severe economy that this precise statement of it strikes the present writer as a much newer view than that which Dr. Cushman claims to have originated. It is true that most writers on the history of the Drama have assigned to the Vice, and still more to the Devil, an importance for which there is no justification in extant plays. They tell us that the Devil was a popular character, whereas in extant plays he is almost unknown, that the Vice played up to him as a kind of foil, and that the Devil (we quote from Dr. Ward's *English Dramatic Literature*, vol. i. p. 111) 'very commonly takes his revenge for having been ridden and beaten by the Vice by carrying him off on his back to Hell at the end of the play.' To all this, it is quite true, there is little which really corresponds in the texts of our extant moralities, and historiaus of the drama deserve a mild cudgelling for not having emphasised the fact. But this view of the Vice and Devil is not a mere iuvention: it is based upou well-known passages in Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, and Archbishop Harsnett, some of which Dr. Cushman himself quotes, though his eyes are so fixed on the other side of the shield that for the purposes of his argument they might never have existed. There is an absolute discrepancy betweeu the evidence of the moralities themselves and the evidence of men who must have seen such plays in their youth, and Dr. Cushman's monograph, by ignoring one set of witnesses, is just as unsatisfactory as the statements of the historians, critics, etc., who ignore the other. The belief of the present writer rests ou a series of hypotheses, but is perhaps worth stating. The sixteenth-century moralities which have come down to us are, as a rule, very poor literature, bnt they are distinctly literary, written, that is, in the dull literary language of their day, and abounding in abstract characters, which might be appreciated in a bishop's or nobleman's hall, but which could by no

means have been easily understood by the people. We know that miracle plays used to be performed in quite small places, and the play of St. George and the Dragon, which within recent days was acted with some ceremony at Christmas in Yorkshire and Dorsetshire villages, and which four small urchins enacted for the delectation of the writer's children in a London suburb within the present twelvemonth, may lead us to suspect that alongside of the literary plays of the sixteenth century there went on very much ruder performances which never found their way into print. Now the expression 'the Vice,' as Dr. Cushman rightly notes, occurs for the first time in Heywood's *Play of the Wether*, about 1533, applied to that innocent clown, Merry-Report. In Heywood's *Play of Love*, a character with no particularly vicious qualities is suddenly called the Vice in a stage direction.[1] Dr. Cushman would have us take the name back the better part of a century and apply it to one or more of the Seven Deadly Sins in the earlier and more distinctly religious dramas, and he even speaks of the *Castle of Perseverance* as having 'two Vices and ten minor Vices,' and notes 'this surprising splitting-up of the Vice-rôle.' It seems puerile, however, to speak of 'splitting-up' a rôle some generations before it can be proved to have come into existence, and it is more likely that some quite unliterary performances were in vogue in which the Devil and the Vice played the parts to which the Elizabethan playwrights and Archbishop Harsnett allude, and that Heywood and subsequent dramatists took up the popular character of the Vice into their literary plays to give them a little of the liveliness they sorely needed, while the poor Devil was left out in the cold for fear of offence. An hypothesis like this cannot easily be proved, but it possesses at least the essential quality of an hypothesis in that, if it could be proved, it would account for the facts, whereas Dr. Cushman's 'new view' neglects one-half of them and puts a strained construction on some of the rest. His monograph in other respects is not a very satisfactory piece of work, as the majority of the illustrative passages which he accumulates to the point of weariness are wholly irrelevant, and he sets himself with needless thoroughness to prove mere commonplaces, *e.g.* that 'in the mediæval religious literature the occurrence of the figure of the Devil is confined to biblical precedents.' On pp. 120-21, he falls into an unhappy blunder through ignorance of the tricks of sixteenth-century publishers, discovering 'a reliable source of information regarding the Vice's costume' in the 'old woodcuts' to Hickescorner, etc. Unfortunately, these woodcuts appear with the lettering altered in about a dozen other books, which have no connection with the drama, and they are for the most part rude copies of some of the cuts in a French edition of Terence published by Antoine Vérard about 1500. To rely on them as evidence for the costume worn in English plays is thus as gross a blunder as that by which the cuts of a meditative author, also borrowed by English publishers from the French, have been treated as portraits of Stanbridge and Whittinton, because they appear on the title-pages of some of the heart-breaking manuals of these grammarians. A. W. P.

The Transition Period. [Periods of European Literature, edited by Professor Saintsbury, iv.]. By G. Gregory Smith, M.A. Blackwood and Sons. 1900.

Of all the errors into which a reviewer can fall the most fatuous is to censure a book for not being what it sets forward no claim to be: every book has a right to be judged according to its own aims. And for what it is, namely an elaborate essay on the literary temper and conditions of the fifteenth century, it would be difficult to speak too highly of Mr. Gregory Smith's *Transition Period*. There is, nevertheless, one point on which it is necessary, if not to censure the author, at least to address a word of warning to the intending reader. The work appears in Professor Saintsbury's series of 'Periods of European Literature,' a series intended to give, in a dozen volumes, a survey of the literature of our western civilisation in medieval and modern times, which shall be at once useful to the special student in helping him to bring his own knowledge into relation with the general scheme, and to the general reader in supplying him with an outline which shall serve as a basis for further investigation. In such a series Mr. Gregory Smith's essay, whatever its merits may be, is out of place. It deals for the most part, not with the actual literature of the period, but rather with the intellectual temperament and genius of the age, as revealed to us in that literature and in the peculiar forms and fashions that it affected. There is a natural body and there is a spiritual body, and it is pre-eminently with the latter that Mr. Gregory Smith is occupied. If the reader brings with him to the perusal of the book a fair knowledge of the literature of the period, he may rest assured of spending some pleasant hours—for it is a book to be read with care—and of learning not a little from its pages; but the reader who does not come so prepared, will hardly gain from it a very distinct notion of the *corpus* of fifteenth-century literature. It is, however, foolish to complain, for had the work been other, the loss would have been ours.

The first five chapters deal with the poetical literature of the age. In the first we have an account of the Chancerian tradition in England; it is one of the least interesting chapters in the book, a fact that is easily accounted for by its subject. There is little scope for critical insight in the second-hand and third-rate medievalism of Lydgate and Occleve, and though their writings may be voluminous, they contain few strands for the literary, or at least for the æsthetic, historian to unravel. Hawes, the last unadulterated relic of the medieval world, has an interest rather sentimental than literary. With Skeltou it is of course different, and the author gets an opportunity of showing his powers of insight and discrimination, which it is true he does not miss, but of which he hardly makes as full use as other portions of the book might have led us to expect. It would seem, indeed, that both here and to a less extent in the second chapter, Mr. Gregory Smith has been less successful than elsewhere in grasping the spiritual form and pressure of the times, or else that he has not yet gained the confidence that enables him to face and expound the problems presented in the later chapters. The second, which is devoted to the Scottish poets, is not unnaturally more interesting, and it is here that the author gives the first proof of the clearness and independence of his literary vision. This is most evident in his account of Douglas, to whom he denies the position of herald of the renaissance amid the ruins of medievalism, which critical tradition accords him. Even when we do not happen to agree with Mr. Gregory Smith and are not altogether convinced by his arguments, we are yet never tempted to imagine that it is out of any love of eccentricity or paradox that he departs from what a recent writer calls 'reasoned orthodoxy.' His arguments are always subtle and suggestive, even when unconvincing. A point on which it would be more easy to quarrel with him is the rather strange way in which he appears at times blind or indifferent to literary merit. A reader not entirely familiar with the productions of a period is often, it is true, apt to overrate isolated works, attributing to them an originality they do not in reality possess; and this is especially the case in dealing with the fifteenth century, a period in which imitation is the rule even among the foremost writers, and in which it is easy to mistake what is really common property of the age for the expression of individual genius. But there are cases in which this argument has less force, as for instance the ballads and alliterative verse, of which latter Mr. Gregory Smith is singularly unappreciative, which will no doubt embolden readers to maintain that there are authors to whose literary merit justice is not done. Thus both in respect of Douglas's

[1] And on the title-page of the first edition, 1534, preserved in the Pepysian Library.—En.

historical position and poetic merit, Mr. Gregory Smith's arguments, however interesting, are not altogether conclusive. There is a danger, which he has not perhaps wholly avoided, of taking certain definite and formal qualities as characteristic of medieval and renaissance work, and by them assigning given productions to their respective places, whereas the difference is more essentially one of temperament and tone. Mr. Gregory Smith's low opinion of Bishop Gawain's literary merit is perhaps at least proof of a conscientious reading, for though taken in small quantities he is undoubtedly pleasant enough, an overdose would probably be serious. It is, however, to some extent a matter of taste on which difference of opinion must be looked for, and these attempts to gauge the real worth of poets of a distant period are, if not among the most critical, at least among the most interesting features of the book. The author is, nevertheless, decidedly severe, and even though Douglas may have somewhat readily exchanged poetry for politics, yet it is difficult to believe that Scott's sympathetic, if uncritical, remark—

> More pleased that, in a barbarous age
> He gave rude Scotland Virgil's page,
> Than that beneath his rule he held
> The bishopric of fair Dunkeld—

has not in it at least some modicum of truth. On Douglas's merits as a translator Mr. Gregory Smith is singularly silent; it is however then, when he is more immediately under the influence of the master than in his independent work, that he most clearly reflects the modern spirit and did most to influence southern pioneers like Surrey, just as it is in the critical sallies of his prologues and commentary that he shows the brand of controversial humanism. In any case, whatever their respective merits may be, Henryson, Dunbar, and Douglas form a literary group of far other interest than Lydgate, Occleve, and Hawes. This fact, which no one has ever sought to deny though few have made any serious effort to explain, is due in part at least, according to Mr. Gregory Smith, to the very fact of their being less directly under the dominance of the medieval spirit. While, according to him, the southern poets worked on under the weakening inspiration of the medieval ideal, their northern contemporaries accepted the literary tradition of the middle age, and being more completely severed from the world that had formed it, treated it purely objectively as a literary form or convention imposed from the outside, or which, for motives of their own, it pleased them to adopt. Thus the form remained perfect, like an embalmed body from which the soul was fled, instead of undergoing the natural process of dissolution as the life-blood ebbed slowly from its veins.

In France, with which the third chapter deals, the problem becomes more complicated. Mr. Gregory Smith distinguishes three distinct stages of transition, to wit, the early period of waning medievalism, the middle period with a distinct character of its own, being 'not so much a compound of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance as a negation of both,' and with Villon as its chief exponent, and finally the ascendency of the *bourgeois* spirit in conflict with the reactionary influence of the *Rétoriqueurs*. The original genius of François Villon overshadowed the period in which he lived, but if it were possible to view the fifteenth century in France without the figure of the Paris jailbird, it may well be doubted whether the change from the early to the later periods would be found to differ much from the corresponding development in England. There is a great danger, as Mr. Gregory Smith elsewhere shows himself well aware, in taking a work of individual genius as typical of the tendency of a period. It would be a strange critical blunder to represent *Paradise Lost* as typical of the spirit of the Restoration. This view seems to be somewhat borne out by the development of literature in Italy, which falls into two halves, one of medieval decadence, the other of humanistic re-birth. This latter largely takes the form of *bourgeois* sensualism, and in this respect has its roots in the work of Boccaccio in the previous century. It is to the *trecento*, too, that we must return for the springs of language, for, so far from that of 'the great triumvirate' being 'felt to be a mere Tuscan dialect,' as Mr. Gregory Smith asserts, the poems of Petrarch long remained the model of the vulgar tongue, and in later times Florentine was regarded as the mirror of perfect Italian, so much so that Castiglione found it necessary to enter into a long defence of his having composed the *Courtier* in his native Umbrian, and the Ferrarese, Giraldi Cintio, notwithstanding his somewhat cumbrous vernacular, yet claimed on the title-page, or at least the publisher claimed for him, that from his work might be learnt the true art of writing the all-admired Tuscan.

The fifth chapter treats of the poetry of the Peninsula and of Germany. Circumstances, partly political, conspired to render the former more conservative than that of the other countries of western Europe; the medieval tradition—Provençal, allegorical, Italianate—continued almost throughout the century; manifestations of the *bourgeois* spirit are rare and spasmodic. The struggle against the Moors gave to the old tradition a patriotic connection, which the wars of Charles V. and the Maid of Orleans had been unable to do in France. The same cause tended to an association of patriotism and Christian piety, which is distinctive of Spanish literature. The poetic activity of the age in the Peninsula was, however, almost entirely imitative, and was, moreover, more ready to absorb than to digest, or was guilty, to use Mr. Gregory Smith's phrase, of the 'deadly sin of literary gluttony when she had discovered the flesh-pots of Italy.' In the German poetry of the period, Mr. Gregory Smith distinguishes two streams of tendency descending from the traditions of the preceding century. The formal art of the Minnesang finds a *bourgeois* successor in the prolific aridity of the Meistersang, while another school acknowledges the supremacy of Walther, and like its master seeks inspiration largely in the *Volkslied*. There is little to foretell the advent of the renaissance or the great upheaval of the coming age. Quite at the end of the period the satirical tendency of the transition found expression in the *Narrenschiff* and fools' paradise of Sebastian Brant.

The sixth chapter contains an exceedingly able treatment of the 'Problem of the Ballads and Popular Songs.' After briefly mentioning the various theories on the subject, the author proceeds to an array of arguments in favour of regarding the ballads as not only of comparatively late origin, but as of distinctly 'literary' provenance. Several of the earliest examples of ballads treat of subjects already dealt with by the romances, and furthermore, the process of disintegration by which the romance passes into the ballad, through the intermediate romance-poem, is clearly visible. Arguments are brought forward in favour of regarding the common ballad measure as the descendant of the more complicated stanzas of the romances. The inference is that the ballads owe their origin to a literary tradition founded on the decay of the earlier courtly models. This origin, however, since the process necessarily implies a certain vulgarisation, does not, as Mr. Gregory Smith seems to think, account for the singular absence of *bourgeois* coarseness. In France, and perhaps still more in Italy, the popular poetry confines itself to songs and lyric compositions, usually of an amorous character—a description, by the way, that will apply to the sacred as well as to the profane verse. The remains of Spanish ballad poetry approach in general character more nearly to the English and Scotch, and Mr. Gregory Smith attempts to make out a similar correspondence between the ballads and the earlier romances; but the evidence is in this case rather uncertain. The popular poetry in Germany is again of less importance.

It is remarkable that, in the whole of the discussion, the author never once mentions the obvious but yet all-important fact, that this 'popular' poetry was intended for musical accompaniment of some sort. This rendered its oral transmission at once wider and more natural, and thus accounts in some degree for its astonishing anonymity. It also, no doubt, explains to some extent the peculiar tone of the ballads, of which

Mr. Gregory Smith naturally makes as little as possible.

With regard to his treatment of the whole problem there are two reflections that may be made. In the first place, his account of the breaking up of romances into ballads is admirably lucid, and it is difficult to see how it could be disputed. Even in the case of *Thomas of Erceldoune*, of the connection of which with the romance Mr. Gregory Smith speaks with caution, it is quite clear that the present form postulates an earlier romance-poem, probably with an intricate rime-structure. On the other hand, his thesis of the genesis of the ballad measure, though ably supported, comes far short of being proved. The facts throughout are equally capable of bearing the interpretation that the older romances were remoulded as ballads in order to conform to an already existing fashion, as that the fashion was the result of their disintegration. The almost universal inferiority of these derivative ballads seems strongly in favour of the former hypothesis. I am not careful to claim for any ballad a greater antiquity than the fifteenth century, and if by 'literary' the author means, as he seems to do, artificial, I do not see why 'popular' poetry should not have its artificialities as well as any other; but the point on which I do differ with Mr. Gregory Smith, and on which I fancy others will be found to differ too, is in seeing in the ballads a tone essentially different from anything to be found in the regular literature either of the middle age or renaissance.

Interesting, however, as his account of the ballads is, there can be no doubt that the three chapters on 'Dramatic Origins' constitute the chief feature of Mr. Gregory Smith's book. His treatment of the difficult problems of the religious drama, the inter-relation of the different types, and their gradual merging into the secular and regular forms, is quite admirable; to review it in detail would merely mean to give abstract and extract from the book itself. Although the early dramatic literature of France is that of greatest value to the student, owing to its vast mass, in which every variety is represented, the English, owing to its slower and consequently, in some cases, more regular and perfect development, is likewise of first-rate importance. A history of the early drama is practically a history of the dramatic activity of these two countries, since the beginnings in the south and in Germany serve to small purpose but to bear out, and in some respects to emphasise, the results already attained.

The chapters devoted to the fifteenth century prose are the least interesting in the volume, and fail, partially at least, to give a clear picture of the tendencies at work. The fault, however, probably does not lie altogether with Mr. Gregory Smith, for prose is at all times the vehicle of what has been called 'the scaffolding of life,' and frequently has its form imposed upon it from without, while other mediums are free to follow what literary *Triebe* they like, so that the '*Tendenz* historian,' as the author aptly styles himself, is met by the alternative of either omitting what appear at first sight important works, or of obscuring the real issues. It would, perhaps, have been better had Mr. Gregory Smith been somewhat bolder in adopting the former alternative, as it would have tended to make these last chapters shorter as well as more telling, and to have avoided the catalogues of names that all conscientious historians of literature are at times apt to inflict on their readers. No presentation, however, could make a history of fifteenth-century prose exciting; for, in spite of the fact that in England it has at least the interest of an experiment, and in spite of the straightforward fun of the *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles*, or the satirical flavour of *Till Eulenspiegel*, the prose activity of the period is a singularly barren plain, above which rise, like isolated peaks, Mallory, Commines, and Thomas à Kempis.

The fifteenth century was not a period of great creation; not even, though many things were in the cauldron, a period of great promise, unless indeed we look at it through the perspective-glass of subsequent ages. It was on one hand a period of upheaval and of change, on the other of torpor and of inactivity; on both a period of transition, in which a spirit of *bourgeois* coarseness and cynicism blends strangely with the grim spectre of the *Danse Macabre*, and the sweet melancholy burden of the 'snows of yester year,' whether in Dunbar's sigh over the Scots 'makaris,' or Villon's song of the *Dames du temps jadis*, with its well-known 'Mais où sont les neiges d'antan,' or Jorge Manrique's complaint:—

> ¿Qué se hiciéron las damas,
> Sus tocados, sus vestidos,
> Sus olores?
> ¿Qué se hiciéron las llamas
> De los fuegos enceudidos
> De amadores?

—a burden which, in spite of its being familiar alike in Old English and mediæval Latin, in the full flush of the renaissance, and in works of all ages and all lands, such as the *Imitation*, the author regards, probably rightly, as the peculiar note of the Transition Period.

Mr. Gregory Smith is to be congratulated in that, having allotted to him the least promising of the Periods of European Literature, he has succeeded in producing the most interesting volume that has yet appeared in the series.

W. W. Greg.

The Tutorial History of English Literature. By A. J. Wyatt, M.A. (University Tutorial Series.)

It is now nearly thirty years since Professor Morley published his *First Sketch of English Literature*—a crude, undigested mass of names, places, dates, and facts, which has probably done more than any other book to warn off intending students from the field of English literature. And the many literary histories which have since been published are more or less tarred with the same brush. Even Stopford Brooke's excellent little book—a history in 166 pages of English literature from A.D. 673 to 1832—hardly fills the gap. One regards this marvel of skilful arrangement and compression with the same admiration one bestows on Didot's 'microscopic' *Horace*, Pickering's *Odyssey*, or that wonder of our childhood, the Lord's Prayer on a threepenny piece. But to recommend such a book to elementary students is to turn them loose amid a forest of names, through which they will wander helplessly.

Here at length is a sketch which condescends to men of low estate. Mr. Wyatt frankly jettisons two-thirds of the great names of English literature in the hope that he may be able to make clear to the dullest minds some elementary ideas about the very greatest writers. Criticism is supported and illustrated by copious extracts. Best of all, an attempt is made, by a prefixed scheme of reading in the English classics, to draw students to read authors instead of text-books.

Unfortunately the execution of the work is as bad as the scheme is excellent. Whilst a page is given to Thomson, three to Collins, and four to Cowper, Keats is passed over without even the shortest notice. The list of Shelley's works includes such comparative trifles as the *Witch of Atlas*, but omits the *Cenci*. Worse than these omissions are the downright misstatements—that Arthur 'practically disappears' after Book ii. of the *Faery Queen*, or that Milton is to be blamed for perpetuating the Ptolemaic system 'when he might have known better.' Now Milton had not spoken with Galileo for nothing; and if he made splendid artistic use of the traditional, familiar cosmography, he took care to show—in the opening pages of Book viii. and elsewhere—that he did 'know better.' Again, we are told that Mr. Churton Collins 'ought to know better' than to state that we are indebted to Wyatt and Surrey for the great reform in English versification which 'substituted a metrical for a rhythmical structure.' 'Obviously,' says Mr. Wyatt, 'no one who makes such a statement as that can have read a single line of Chaucer.' Now a student who has noted how Chaucer's most intimate disciples failed to learn the lesson he taught; how Chaucer's own text was

corrupted till it became incapable of teaching that lesson; and how it was not till over a century later that Wyatt and Surrey initiated the second and successful reform, will be able to estimate Mr. Wyatt's dogmatic impertinence at its true value. But there is danger that the babes and sucklings for whom this book is intended may take too seriously the remarks on Mr. Churton Collins' ignorance, or Wordsworth's 'drivel.'

Finally, the composition is slipshod, and the proof-reading has been none too careful. Sackville is made to speak of

'the horrour and the hell . . .
Of *Plato* on his throne where he did dwell';

the war in Heaven is referred to Books iii. and iv. of *Paradise Lost*; Jouson is confused with Johnson. And however good the purposes of a book may be, they should not be endowed with such words as these:

'The two great periods of dearth in the story of English letters admit of a rational explanation. In each instance momentous changes were taking place, which must necessarily have had a *nugatory* influence upon authorship.'

R. W. CHAMBERS.

Anleitung zum Studium der Französischen Philologie. Von Dr. EDUARD KOSCHWITZ. Zweite Auflage. Marburg. 1900.

THIS little book is written for Germans, and contains in some 160 pages much information of which a student of French stands in need; it offers him advice on the choice of books, on the methods of study, on the facilities afforded him in French-speaking countries for continuing the work he has begun at home.

A book of this nature is naturally full of criticisms, and it would be remarkable if every one were willing to accept them without reserve. These criticisms are, for the most part, crisp and clever, repeatedly offering some happy expression which sums up the weak side of a publication in a single phrase; but they are also occasionally of a personal character, a serious blemish in a guide intended primarily for young students. In this second edition we had hoped to see this objectionable feature removed; it unfortunately remains. The section in which this is in evidence is the one dealing with pronunciation, and here the really practical work of other phoneticians is belittled. We are told that one series of transcriptions only represents the pronunciation of a certain 'family'; are we to infer that this family is lacking in education, and the language transcribed not sufficiently trustworthy for the student of modern French? According to the author, it is wrong to transcribe spoken French in its everyday form;-but here we return to the worn-out objection raised against Dr. Sweet some years ago. Curiously enough, the whole chapter is headed 'Praktisches Studium'!

The second part of the book deals with the scientific study of the language; a very valuable bibliography is scattered throughout this section (pp. 91-150). Much of the advice offered is excellent, but one might differ from the Professor in certain details. The student is recommended, for example (p. 105), to let the study of Provençal precede that of old French; this course will scarcely add to his enthusiasm for the Proveuçal love-songs. From the known to the unknown seems a more reasonable transition, and we may presume that the 'Abiturient' has learnt a certain amount of modern French at School; from modern French to old French is not a long journey, and old French paves the way for the greater difficulties of the southern idiom. But in any case the author rightly accentuates the value of the study of the Langue d'Oc in conjunction with that of the Langue d'Oïl. Among old French *chrestomathies* a mention might have been made of Clédat's *Morceaux Choisis des Auteurs du Moyen Age*, a little volume admirably suited to beginners. In general, however, the books recommended are numerous enough, and the student will have to make his own selection from the list provided.

The type of the book is very clear, and there are very few misprints. For purposes of reference the index of seventeen pages will be found useful; it greatly enhances the value of the guide. An English adaptation of the first edition, by P. S. Jeffrey, appeared last year under the title of *The Study of Colloquial and Literary French*.

G. E. FUHRKEN.

Völkerpsychologie. Eine Untersuchung der Entwicklungsgesetze von Sprache, Mythus und Sitte. Von Professor W. WUNDT. Leipzig. 1900.

UNDER the above title Professor W. Wundt, one of the leading philosophers of our time, is giving the world the ripest fruit of his life-work. The book is of great interest alike to the philosopher and to the student of Language, and will, no doubt, attract in no small degree the interest of the readers of the *Modern Language Quarterly*.

In two volumes, the first of which has already passed through the press and the second is in preparation, Professor Wundt deals with those psychophysical processes which underlie and explain the evolution of *Language*. Unhappily, hitherto, philosophical speculation has been chiefly directed to the task of solving, by 'metaphysical aid,' the problem of the origin of language. This problem will, if ever, only be solved when Psychology has explained the facts which lie within her field of investigation, and therefore has been relegated by Professor Wundt to a concluding chapter of his work.

The main principle, underlying and pervading the whole work, appears to be that the fundamental qualities of human nature have remained unaltered since mankind possessed the faculty of speech; the general laws, whereby ideas, feelings and volitions are formed, have never changed since such psychical facts have manifested themselves by sound or gesture.

Postulating this, Professor Wundt first deals with the connections between *emotions* and the *movements*—whether of the face or of the whole body—by which they are expressed [*mimische* or *pantomimische Ausdrucksbewegungen*].

Then the author shows how general expressions of emotion have given birth to a specialised *gesture-language* [*Geberdensprache*]; how gestures, originally limited to the manifestations of emotions, are extended to ideas; gesture-language, therefore, in its necessary and rational advance from a lower to a higher purpose, furnishes us with a striking illustration of the evolution of language in general.

In the later chapters of the book we get an explanation of *sound* used as a means of expression. We first see that certain inarticulate cries produced by animals have to be considered as real though rudimentary speech-sounds. Then, after a very careful investigation of the sounds produced by a child, the general laws of *sound-change* are explained.

The many phenomena of sound-change are shown to result necessarily from psychophysical causes, and it is particularly interesting to see how such well-known facts as Grimm's and Verner's laws correspond to general psychophysical principles.

The last chapter of the book deals with the *formation of words*. The way in which primitive words were formed remains, of course, unexplained, but it is at least clearly demonstrated that roots never had any real or independent existence, but are simply results of logical and grammatical analysis. At the same time the author brings forth new arguments in support of the theory, that the sentence as the unit of speech is prior to the word, which by a series of mental processes was separated and isolated by-and-by.

But it is impossible, within the limits of a short notice, to point out all that is new and original and interesting in this book. It throws a new light on many a long-established fact, and carries our thoughts

into the region beyond the bounds which the historical method of investigation has reached. The author succeeds in proving that language is neither a physical nor a psychical but a psychophysical function, that there is change and growth and progress in language, and yet that the whole course of development is determined by general laws, which can be explained only by reference to the psychophysical organisation of man.

The work is a first, but a resolute and well-considered, step into an almost unexplored country, and, looking forward with great interest to the publication of the next volume, we sincerely hope that this important work will soon find a translator.

KARL WICHMANN.

SOME RECENT WORKS ON GERMANY.

Das Deutsche Volkstum, unter Mitarbeit hervorrageuder Fachmänner herausgegeben von DR. HANS MEYER. Mit 30 Tafeln in Holzschnitt, Ätzung und Farbendruck. Leipzig, 1898. Large 8vo, pp. viii+679. 15m.

Das Goldene Buch des Deutschen Volkes an der Jahrhundertwende. Eine Überschau vaterländischer Kultur und nationaleu Lebens in 76 Einzeldarstellungen aus der Feder hervorragender Fachmänner, über 1000 Bildnissen, Aussprüchen und Lebensbeschreibungen lebender deutscher Männer und Frauen und 37 Kunstbeilagen. Leipzig (1900). Fol., pp. 400. 30m.

WITH the growing conviction that one of the principal aims and objects of the teaching of foreign languages in our schools and universities must be the understanding of the national life and culture of foreign nations, the importance of *Realien* in the study of modern languages has been more and more recognised. The subject has now found a place in the Cambridge Mediæval and Modern Languages Tripos, and has also been included in the M.A. Course of the new Birmingham University. But while there are in the English language many excellent works dealing with the national life and institutions of ancient Greece and Rome, similar books on the nations of modern Europe are still wanting.

We do not undervalue the works of W. H. Dawson (*Germany and the Germans*, London, 1894) and S. Whitman (*Imperial Germany*, London, 1889; *Teuton Studies*, London, 1895). They discuss, without prejudice, and with intimate knowledge gained by a long residence abroad, many phases and aspects of German life, but they are written for the information of the general reader rather than for that of the professional student of German, and lack the systematic treatment of the subject which, for the latter, is essential. The article on Germany in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* would supply a good deal of what we want but for the fact that, having been written more than twenty years ago, it is entirely out of date.[1] Of historic interest only are W. Howitt's *Rural and Domestic Life of Germany* (London, 1842) and H. Mayhew's *German Life and Manners* (London, 1864, 2 vols.), while *German Home Life* (London, 1876), by an anonymous authoress, is a series of entertaining, clever sketches, which need not be taken too seriously.

The German student of modern languages is much better provided for in this respect. For the study of France he may turn to Sarrazin-Mahrenholtz's *Frankreich, seine Geschichte, Verfassung und staatlichen Einrichtungen*, and for this country he may consult Wendt's *England* and Klöpper's *Englisches Real-Lexicon*. While we hope that before long English books of this kind may be forthcoming, we welcome with pleasure two German works on modern Germany. As they are written from the German point of view and for the information of Germans, they naturally omit much the English student would require, but still they will prove of inestimable value to students of German in this country.

The first of these books (*Das deutsche Volkstum*) deals with the German race rather than the German Empire, and attempts to answer the question—What are the distinctive features of the German national character, of German manners and customs, German laws and social conditions, German culture, art, and literature? Such a task was impossible for one man, and a number of specialists have therefore combined to accomplish it.

The general editor, Dr. Hans Meyer, to whom the conception of the work and its general plan are due, has also undertaken what, no doubt, was the hardest portion of the work, *i.e.* to define, in an introductory chapter, the German national character, the various manifestations of which in language, literature, art, and customs were to be dealt with by his collaborators. The difficulties and pitfalls of such a task are best known to those who, living in another country than their own, are constantly called upon to enter into comparisons between the national characteristics of the land of their birth and that of their adoption. There is, on the one hand, the danger of generalising, and on the other, the temptation to attribute to one people qualities which in reality are common to many. One is therefore not surprised to find that here too a monopoly of certain virtues is assigned to the Germans, which, we are afraid, are equally claimed by every nation of a similar degree of civilisation. The article is, however, full of suggestive thought and much interesting matter.

The very next chapter of the book proves how difficult, if not impossible, it is to give a satisfactory definition of the general character of so large a race as the German. Granting even that there is a type, almost infinite varieties of it must be admitted. Professor A. Kirchhoff, the well-known geographer, points out the many striking differences of temperament, manners and customs, speech and occupation, dress and dwelling, and even of physique and appearance, which exist among the various provinces and peoples of the German lands.

Dr. H. Helmolt contributes a sketch of German history, and Professor O. Weise discusses the growth and character of the German language in the fresh and attractive manner known to the readers of *Unsere Muttersprache, ihr Werden und ihr Wesen*. E. Mogk, Professor of Norse in the University of Leipzig, writes two chapters on Folklore and Mythology, tracing the origins of German customs, festivals, superstitions, popular beliefs and sayings, and giving an outline of the religion of our Germanic forefathers. The history of Christianity in Germany is reviewed by K. Sell, Professor of Church History in the University of Bonn, passing from the earliest missions through the Reformation to the various sectarian movements and religious controversies of the present day. Dr. A. Lohe expounds the nature and evolution of the different legal codes formerly existing in the various German states, and of the *Bürgerliche Gesetzbuch*, which since Jan. 1, 1900, has superseded them. Professor H. Thode, who has just been appointed to succeed Herman Grimm in Berlin, writes on German art; while an essay on German music is contributed by Professor H. A. Köstlin of Giessen University; and the book concludes with an historical survey of German literature from the pen of Professor J. Wychgram, well known as the author of an excellent life of Schiller, and as editor of the *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Ausländisches Unterrichtswesen*.

The plan of the *Goldene Buch* is more limited than that of the *Deutsche Volkstum*, inasmuch as it is confined to the German Empire as such, but it is wider in that it embraces all spheres of German national life, every department of human activity. It aims at bringing before us a complete and faithful picture of Imperial Germany as it is to-day, after its thirty years of existence, and at reviewing everything that has been done by the Germans for the consolidation and prosperity

[1] An article is in preparation for the supplementary volume.—ED.

of their empire, and for the advancement of mankind in general.

It is divided into four sections, dealing respectively with *Staatswesen*, *Wissenschaft*, *Wirtschaftsleben*, and *Kunst*, each consisting of many subdivisions, making in all seventy-six chapters. An idea of the wealth of information contained in them may be gathered from the following by no means complete list of the subjects with which they deal:—

I. *Staatswesen.*—The constitution of the German Empire, its army and navy, colonies, postal and telegraph service, railways, and waterways.

II. *Wissenschaft.*—Theology, philosophy, jurisprudence, political economy, science, medicine, history, archæology, philology, education, games and pastimes.

III. *Wirtschaftsleben.*—Social conditions and social reforms, old age pensions and accident-insurance, movements affecting the status of women, agriculture and manufacture, mining, engineering, shipping, banking, patent laws, trade, and commerce.

IV. *Kunst.*—Painting, sculpture, architecture, poetry, music, and the drama.

Every article is written and signed by a specialist of European reputation, and though space will not allow us to give the names of all the contributors, we need only mention that the Science of Language is dealt with by Professor Karl Brugmann of Leipzig, Literary History by Adolf Bartels, the author of *Die Alten und die Jungen*, Education by Professor Theobald Ziegler of Strassburg, to make the high character and scientific merit of the essays apparent to all the readers of the *Quarterly*.

Valuable as these articles are, yet we are inclined to think that the illustrations are the main feature of the book. There are one thousand portraits of the leading men in all the domains of practical and intellectual life, forming a kind of national Portrait Gallery: reigning German sovereigns, generals and admirals, statesmen and members of Parliament, judges and lawyers, university professors, engineers, explorers, manufacturers, financiers, artists, musicians, and authors—each portrait being accompanied by a short biographical sketch. There are maps and plans, pictures of public buildings, such as the *Reichstagshaus* in Berlin and the *Reichsgericht* in Leipzig, views of the *Nordostseekanal*, the great shipbuilding yards on the Oder, and Krupp's famous works at Essen; and finally, a large number of excellent reproductions of some of the finest and most representative specimens of modern German art.

The *Goldene Buch* forms a kind of companion volume to Koennecke's *Bildcratlas*, and will prove as useful in the study of German *Realien* as Koennecke's work in the study of German literature, and we heartily recommend it to all teachers and students of German.

H. G. Fiedler.

The University, Birmingham.

The Evolution of Goethe's Art. By Oscar Browning. (Transactions, R.S.L.) London, 1900. 17 pp., 8vo.

This reprint of a lecture recently given to the members of the Royal Society of Literature contains a popular and extremely readable account of the main points that can be observed in the development of Goethe's art. Mr. Browning is known to students of Germany's greatest poet by the clearly and well-written article on Goethe which he contributed to the last edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and which was subsequently published, with alterations and additions, in a dainty little volume called *Goethe: His Life and Writings*. London: Swan, Sonnenschein & Co., 1892. (The Dilettante Library, vol. v.)

K. B.

RECENT AMERICAN CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE STUDY OF GERMAN LITERATURE.

I. **Social Forces in German Literature.** By Kuno Francke. H. Holt & Co., New York. [1]1896, [3]1899. 577 pp., large 8vo. $2.00 nett.

II. **Glimpses of Modern German Culture.** By Kuno Francke. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York. 1898. 233 pp., small 8vo. $1.25.

The study of Modern Languages has of late years been advancing by great strides in the United States of America. Owing to the unremitting efforts of a band of enthusiastic workers—partly scholars of German origin who have settled in America, partly Americans, most of whom have received a thorough training in the universities of Germany and France—a number of most valuable helps to the study of Modern Languages have been produced on the other side of the Atlantic within the last quarter of a century.[1]

Among the first, who did much to establish and to encourage a thorough study of German on a scientific basis, must be mentioned William Dwight Whitney. His *German Dictionary* (1877), intended to be a work for general use and of a limited compass, is a most scholarly piece of work, and enjoys a deservedly large circulation on both sides of the Atlantic. No less scholarly and useful are his *German Grammar* and his *German Reader*. Among other grammatical works that have been written in America I should in this place only like to mention the excellent books by Brandt and by Hempl. The former's work, the full title of which is 'A Grammar of the German Language for High Schools and Colleges, designed for beginners and advanced students,' stands out foremost among the smaller books of its kind, while G. Hempl's 'German Orthography and Phonology' (Boston and London, 1897) is a most careful and elaborate compilation, containing much useful and otherwise not easily accessible information. Several important contributions to the elucidation of old German texts and to the general study of old German philology have been made by American scholars, of whom I will here only mention the well-known name of the late Professor George Allison Hench, the able editor of the Old High German Monsee Fragments (1890).

There are now four important American series of modern German texts with English introductions and notes in the field. Each has its special advantages and contains a number of well-edited texts, classical and other, some of which, happily, supplement our stock of English annotated editions, and can therefore be most profitably used by students in this country. There is not yet, for instance, any good English students' edition of such plays as *Faust*, *Tasso*, and *Emilia Galotti*, or of a selection from Goethe's more difficult poems, or one giving all of Schiller's great ballads. The first of the American series the late Professor W. D. Whitney took a special interest in, and acted as general editor. It is the 'Whitney's German Texts' series, published by Messrs. H. Holt & Co. (New York), and was followed by many other German publications of the same firm. The other series are: (2) Heath's 'Modern Language' series (Messrs. Heath & Co., Boston; London agents, Isbister); and (3) those of The Macmillan Company (New York); and (4) Messrs. Ginn & Co. (Boston, the Athenæum Press). The lists of editors include the names of the very best American scholars, *e.g.* Professors W. T. Hewett, Horatio S. White, Calvin Thomas, Brandt, Hohlfeld, and others. I should like to mention in this connection the splendid edition of Uhland's poems by Professor W. T. Hewett (1896) and his minute investigations into certain peculiarities of the printed editions of *Hermann und Dorothea* (1899). Uhland's poems had long ago (1864) found a spirited translator in our own Professor W. W. Skeat.

Of accomplished American translators of German

[1] Only some of the most important works can be enumerated in this place.

classics I need only mention the names of Longfellow and of Bayard Taylor. It would he a most interesting task to collect and to discuss the value of all the more important American translations of the German classics, and to compare them with those made in England by William Taylor of Norwich, Thomas Carlyle, Scott, Coleridge, Shelley, Lord Lytton, Sir T. Martin, Miss A. Swanwick, and many others.

In the field of scientific periodical literature America is far ahead of us. Not only did American scholars start, as early as 1886, a monthly periodical called *Modern Language Notes*, which is devoted to the study of the various modern tongues, with special reference to English, German, and French, but they have recently (in 1897) started two more periodicals dealing with German and Germanic from different points of view. These are the *American Journal of Germanic Philology*, which is chiefly, but not exclusively, medieval, and the *Americana Germanica*, which is more specially devoted to the comparative study of the literary, linguistic, and other cultural relations of Germany and America. Beside these three flourishing periodicals there are the *Transactions of the Modern Language Association of America*, which bear eloquent witness to the earnestness with which modern language problems are treated by our American colleagues. The suggestive recent *Report of the Committee of Twelve of the Modern Language Association of America*, with an Introduction by Professor Calvin Thomas, Chairman of the Committee (Boston: Heath & Co., 1900), will be noticed in another place of this number.

As regards the history of German literature, a number of able articles by American scholars have from time to time been published in various periodicals. The name of Horatio S. White is familiar to all readers of the *Goethe Jahrbuch*. A general account of the development of German literature, called *Studies in German Literature*, was published in 1879 by G. H. Boker, from the papers of the late Mr. Bayard Taylor. He had lectured on the subject, and his lectures had met with such general approval that it was thought desirable to publish them after his death, in spite of certain imperfections which the author would probably have removed had he lived to prepare his manuscript for the press. Another useful book by a scholar residing in America is H. Hjorth Boyesen's *Essays on German Literature* (London, 1892). These essays are revised and amplified reprints of Boyesen's articles on the life and works of Goethe and Schiller, which were originally published in Philadelphia.

The most recent contributions to the study and right appreciation of German literature as a whole are due to the efforts of a German, Kuno Francke, who is Professor of German Literature in Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. It is with a view to recommending his books most strongly to the notice of English teachers and students of German that this notice is written. Especially the older, more comprehensive, and more truly scientific book of the two, which is called *Social Forces in German Literature*, seems to me to be far too little known in this country. Whoever is interested in watching the development of German literature from an historical and philosophical point of view (not merely from a philological, in the narrower sense of the word) will be amply repaid by a careful study of this splendid work. It is based on first-hand knowledge of the sources and authorities, and is written in a lively and impressive style which brings the chief social forces, the literary tendencies, the principal problems, the great writers, and their most important productions vividly before the mind of the reader. We have nothing of the kind in this country.[1]

I will not on this occasion go into any details about Professor Francke's book.[2] It is only natural that on certain points opinions should differ, but on the whole the book is, in its third edition, remarkably free from actual mistakes. On its appearance it was very warmly welcomed by the best German scientific periodicals, and it is now very largely used in America. I hope that ere long the same may be said with reference to this country. It is much used by my own students at Cambridge. Students reading for the higher university examinations, teachers who are anxious to obtain a reliable survey of any given period of German literary history, will find this book invaluable. It is not too long and yet sufficiently explicit, and its style is always clear and attractive. It is well printed on excellent paper, and published at ten shillings.

The smaller and more recent book called *Glimpses of Modern German Culture* is very interesting reading, but in depth and importance it cannot be compared with the former work. As it deals exclusively with some quite modern men, literary productions, and political and social questions, it naturally offers a comparatively much greater opportunity for doubt and contradiction. Still, in a book dealing with contemporaries and essentially modern problems, this cannot be avoided, and as the author is broad-minded, well-informed, sincere, and eloquent, it is always a pleasure to listen to his expositions, even if the reader should sometimes feel unable to accept his conclusions.

I should like to conclude this notice with the expression of sincere gratitude to my American colleague of Cambridge for the pleasure and profit I have derived from the perusal of his books, and for the great boon which by means of them he has conferred on all English-speaking students of German.

KARL BREUL.

Report of the Committee of Twelve of the Modern Language Association of America. With an Introduction by the Chairman, CALVIN THOMAS, Professor of Germanic Languages in Columbia University. Boston. D. C. Heath & Co 1900. vi and 99 pp. Small 8vo. Boards.

THIS is a most suggestive little book which cannot but prove useful to English teachers and students of French and German. It contains the succinct Report of a representative Committee of Twelve of the M.L.A. of America. Their problem was to suggest to secondary modern language teachers what should be taught, and how it should be taught, and at the same time to frame the proposal in such a way as to leave to the schools a large measure of liberty in the management of details. The pamphlet is eminently suggestive throughout, although, of course, it does not pretend to be conclusive. It will certainly be a real help in guiding the efforts of teachers desirous of improving their methods, and it will also be useful in focussing criticism. It would no doubt be of the utmost importance for the teaching of modern languages in this country, if a number of experienced English modern language teachers, including representatives of our leading schools and universities, would agree to form a Committee for the consideration of a similar normative scheme, carefully adapted to the requirements and possibilities of modern language teaching in our own secondary schools.

KARL BREUL.

[1] The only book which, in learning and suggestiveness, can be compared with it is Professor C. H. Herford's admirable work on *The Literary Relations of England and Germany in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge University Press, 1886). But Professor Herford's book has a totally different aim, and consequently is of a very different character. The other English books are either translations and adaptations of German works, and the value of these is often very small (*e.g.* Miss Lublin's adaptation of Kluge, Metcalfe's adaptation of Vilmar, Nicholson's adaptation of H. Kurz, and even Mrs. Conybeare's rendering of Scherer's fine *Litteraturgeschichte*); or else they are mere compilations from existing handbooks which are not based on first-hand knowledge of the works and authors enumerated.

[2] I had called attention to it soon after it had come out in my 'Reference Library of a School Teacher of German,' inserted into the first edition of *The Teaching of Modern Foreign Languages*. Cambridge, 1898. Page 73.

CORRESPONDENCE

MANDEVILLE'S TRAVELS—AN EXPLANATION.

To the Editor of 'The Modern Language Quarterly.'

Sir,—A letter by Mr. Paget Toynbee, in the last number of the *Modern Language Quarterly*, calls attention to the fact that I incorporated in my article on 'Otto von Diemeringen's German translation of Mandeville's Travels' the results of researches made by Mr. E. W. B. Nicholson, Mr. G. F. Warner, and Mr. Paget Toynbee himself, without due acknowledgment. The omission was caused by the great haste with which the article was prepared, as a translation of the first two chapters of my *Inaugural-Dissertation* at Strassburg, 1898. This contains, in the preface, the following acknowledgment:—

'The chief books used, of which the two first contain nearly all the matter of the introductory Chapter (Section I. of the article in question), are:—

'**Bovenschen,** "Untersuchungen über Johann von Mandeville und die Quellen seiner Reisebeschreibung," in the *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde*, Berlin, vol. 23, 1888.

'**Warner,** Article on Mandeville in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 36, London, 1893.

'**Vogels,** "Das Verhältnis der italienischen Versionen Mandeville's zum Original," in the *Festschrift* of the Gymnasium in Moers-Crefeld, 1882.

'**Vogels,** "Die ungedruckten lateinischen Versionen Mandeville's," in the *Programm* of the Gymnasium in Crefeld, 1886.

'**Vogels,** "Handschriftliche Untersuchungen über die englischen Versionen Mandeville's," in the *Annual Report* of the Realgymnasium in Crefeld, 1891.

'**Cordier,** "Jean de Mandeville," in the magazine *T'oung Pao, Archives de l'Asie Orientale*, vol. ii., 1890.

'**Yule and Nicholson,** Article on Mandeville in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th edition, vol. xv., Edinburgh, 1883. Pp. 473 ff.

'**Halliwell,** *The Voiage and Travaile of Sir John Maundeville* (edition of an English MS.), London, 1839.

'**Goedeke,** on Johannes Mandeville and the German translations in the *Grundriss zur Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung*, vol. i., pp. 377 ff., 2nd edition, Dresden, 1884.

'**Tobler,** *Bibliographia Geographica Palestinae*, Leipzig, 1867.

'**Görres,** on Johannes de Montevilla in *Die teutschen Volksbücher*, pp. 53 ff., Heidelberg, 1807.

'**von der Hagen,** "Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte und Litteratur der deutschen Volksbücher," in the *Museum für altdeutsche Litt. u. Kunst*, vol. i., pp. 248 ff., Berlin, 1809.

'**Roethe,** "Michel Velser," *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, 39, 576.'

I think all minor references not directly mentioned in the above list are given in these books. Mr. Toynbee's article in *Romania* is mentioned in a footnote.

I shall be very much obliged if you can find space to insert this explanation, and trust that Mr. Toynbee will accept my apologies for appearing to claim his work, and my thanks for drawing my attention to a serious omission.

I am, Sir, etc.,
Francis E. Sandbach.

184 Kensington Park Road, W.
Sept. 28, 1900.

ALLGEMEINER DEUTSCHER SPRACHVEREIN.

To the Editor of 'The Modern Language Quarterly.'

Dear Sir,—You, as well as many other members of the Modern Language Association, belong also to the London Branch of the *A. D. Sp.*, and know its aims, foremost among which is the prevention of unnecessary foreign words from gaining a foothold to the detriment of words of genuine German stock.

As you may have gathered from the last issues of the *Zeitschrift*, this movement in favour of the purity of the German language is gaining ground every day. The Secretaries of State of the German Empire, the Ministers of Prussia and other German states, have joined, and their example cannot fail to have a great effect on those who have hitherto kept aloof.

The accession of Count Bülow and his colleagues does not mean a conversion of the official circles, for they have been converted for a long time; it is a kind of official acknowledgment of what must be regarded as the prevalent feeling among educated Germans, whether they be officials or not.

The new civil code, which came into force on January 1st, 1900, is distinguished for its pure and simple language, and an absence of foreign words. In the same way the precepts of the Sprachverein have long been acted upon by the various government boards, and even the language of the army is undergoing constant improvement.

All this is not news to you or to the other members of the Modern Language Association who also belong to the Sprachverein. There are, however, still many teachers of German who are not, or not sufficiently, aware of the importance of the present movement, and there is a danger of a style of German being taught which in Germany is no longer regarded as good. Gustav Freytag himself found it necessary in the later editions of his works to remodel his writing in accordance with modern feeling.

The Committee of the *Zweigverein London des A. D. Sp.* are convinced that the influence of the Modern Language Association could do very much to counteract the above-mentioned danger by drawing the attention of their members, and through them of the whole teaching profession, to the aims and results of the movement. In editing texts, care should be taken to point out the difference between the old and new ways of writing, and here also the advice of the Modern Language Association would carry great weight.

In asking you to submit this to the consideration of the Committee of the Modern Language Association, I feel sure of your hearty support, and I beg to add that the Sprachverein will feel very grateful for the assistance of the Modern Language Association in bringing about a better appreciation of the movement represented by the Sprachverein.

If I can give you any further information I shall be glad to do so.

Believe me to be, Dear Sir, etc.,
Hugo Bartels,
Hon. Secretary.

Panthurst, Sevenoaks Weald,
Kent, *October* 8, 1900.

SIMPLIFICATION DE LA SYNTAXE FRANÇAISE.

To the Editor of 'The Modern Language Quarterly.'

Sir,—In reference to the circular which has been sent to the members of the Modern Language Association, I

should like to know how far modern language masters in England have accepted and are teaching the rules of French syntax as revised by the Commission appointed by the French Minister of Education and approved by him. Or are they going to wait until the Académie Française adopts them? From information which I have received from various sources in France and Germany it is evident that as yet the simplified rules have not been officially recognised. One would not like to teach the new rules and afterwards find them rejected by the next French Ministry.

I remain, Sir,
Yours faithfully,
ARTHUR SCHLEE.

PRAETORIA HOUSE SCHOOL,
FOLKESTONE.
Oct. 15, 1900.

HIGHER CERTIFICATE PAPERS.

TO THE EDITOR OF 'THE MODERN LANGUAGE QUARTERLY.'

SIR,—In the interest of all those who prepare and are being prepared for the Higher Certificate German Examination, I should like to say a few words with reference to the examination paper set for July 1900. When I read through the questions, I could not help thinking that they must have been intended to find out what pupils do *not* know instead of being a fair test of their knowledge. How can examiners expect candidates of fifteen and sixteen years of age, in whom the 'Sprachgefühl' is not yet developed, to give a right translation for—'She is a first-rate musician,' 'Quick boys,' or 'Wer ruft mir,' 'Er hat mir aufgewartet,' etc.?

The whole of Part I. in the Composition paper (which consists chiefly of idiomatic phrases or special grammatical difficulties) might be badly done by a candidate who has had good practice in continuous prose, but has not given an extra amount of time to the learning of idioms. Yet, according to the regulations, candidates must pass in Part I., while Part II. is for distinction only. Would it not be advisable to invert the order, and give an easy passage of continuous prose for the first Part, which would be a fair test of the pupil's power of turning English into German?

With the limited number of lessons allowed for Modern Languages in an average school curriculum, owing to the variety of subjects required, it is impossible for a pupil to attain the degree of perfection or the 'Sprachgefühl' which would be necessary for doing the aforesaid paper well. We must be satisfied with a general practical knowledge of the language. The present kind of examination cannot act as a spur and incentive to good and steady work, but must, on the contrary, lead to cramming. Nothing, I consider, is more discouraging to a candidate who has attained a fair standard of knowledge, than to have little opportunity of doing anything in an examination paper but display his or her deficiencies.

I seriously hope that before long a compulsory *viva voce* examination will be introduced in *all* Language Examinations. It is only then that we can welcome the latter as a help and test for our work.

In conclusion, I should like to venture to suggest to examiners to set easier questions and to expect them to be answered *well*, instead of being satisfied with a feeble attempt of a difficult paper. By a change of this sort I feel sure we should encourage accuracy and sound work.

I am, Sir, etc.,
L. N.

Modern Language Teaching

REFORMS IN FRENCH SYNTAX AND ORTHOGRAPHY.

In January last the *Conseil supérieur de l'Instruction Publique* adopted the motion of two of its members that a sub-committee should be formed in order to simplify French syntax. On the 13th January 1900 this Committee was instituted by a ministerial decree, and the secretary, M. Clairin, on June 20, drew up his report, which was adopted by the *Conseil supérieur* on July 21. On July 31 the Minister of Public Instruction, M. Leygues, issued an *arrêté*, deciding that in competitive examinations under the Ministry, candidates would be allowed to use the 'tolérances' included in the report, and that in all public schools, both primary and secondary, rules contrary to these 'tolérances' should no longer be taught as rules, but the pupils should be allowed to choose between the old and the new. The members of the sub-committee who have drawn up these rules were:—MM. Gaston Paris (chairman), O. Gréard, Croiset, Paul Meyer, Henri Bernès, Deschat, Comte, and Henri Clairin (secretary).

The following extract from M. Clairin's report will show the aim of the Committee:

'Elementary education is losing the character of simplicity which ought always to distinguish it, and is entangling itself in a mass of subtleties. Apparently the simplest expressions hide pitfalls. Thus in such a sentence as: *Ils ont été leur(s) chapeau(x)*, ought we to write *chapeau(x)* in the singular or plural? Some say in the singular, because each person has only one hat; others say in the plural, because there are many persons, and consequently many hats. Again, we read: '*Groseille* must be written in the singular in the phrase, *du sirop de groseille*, because when reduced to syrup gooseberries lose their shape; but *groseilles* must be used in the expression *des confitures de groseilles de Bar*, because in that kind of jam the gooseberries remain whole.' Is it not to be regretted that boards of examiners, presumably composed of intelligent men, should stay to discuss such puerilities, instead of accepting both the singular and plural as correct, and paying no attention to the spelling of the printed text they have before their eyes? What can we think of such an explanation as this: 'One should write *les arbres les plus hauts sont* **les plus exposés** *à la tempête*, because the superlative is determinate; but *on a abattu les arbres* **le plus exposés** *à la tempête*, because the superlative is indeterminate'? Is this suitable matter to teach children? and even if they succeed in learning such rules by heart, what profit will their minds gain from them?

'After having ascertained the existence of this fault, which, in different degrees, is to be found in all grammars, the Committee decided to pick out all the subtle or incorrect rules existing in elementary grammars, and to do away with them; since they are of no use either in the reading of texts or in forming the mind and developing the reflective powers.'

The secretary goes on to notice the strange way in which certain compound nouns are spelt, e.g. *des timbres-poste*, *des paquebots-poste*, and *des trains-postes*. Dictionaries even do not always agree. Finally, the question of the agreement of the past participle is discussed. M. Clairin thus concludes:

'In allowing the past participle conjugated with *avoir* to be always invariable, as well as the past participle of reflexive verbs, the Committee trusts it is suppressing one of the most tiresome and useless points in elementary grammar—one that troubles foreigners most.'

The complete list affixed to the report is as follows:

The Noun.

I. Gender.—1. *Aigle*, *amour*, *orgue*. These words may be either masculine or feminine. Ex.: *les grandes orgues*, *un des plus beaux orgues*.

2. *Gens*. The adjectives agreeing with this word may be either masculine or feminine.

3. *Hymne*. Both genders will be allowed, both for warlike and religious hymns.

4. *Œuvre*, *orge*, *pâques*, *période* may be either masculine or feminine.

5. *Relâche* is masculine. It is only used in the feminine by sailors.

6. *Aide*, *garde*, *manœuvre*, *trompette*. These words are masculine or feminine according as they refer to persons or things. Great indulgence is to be shown to errors in the genders of these words.

II. Number.—1. *Témoin.* When placed at the beginning of a sentence, this word may remain invariable or take the sign of the plural if the noun following it be in the plural. Ex.: *témoin* or *témoins les victoires qu'il a remportées.* As for the invariable phrase *à témoin*, the same liberty is to be granted.

2. In all constructions where the sense permits, the noun to be understood either in the singular or plural, both numbers will be allowed. Ex.: *des habits de femme* or *de femmes, des confitures de groseille* or *de groseilles.*

3. *Ail, ciel, œil, travail.* These words have a second plural in addition to the ordinary one, on the use of which the most competent authors are not agreed (*œils* or *yeux de perdrix*). The plurals *ails, ciels, œils, travails* are technical terms with which elementary education need not be bothered. It is enough to tell a child that some substantives have, in addition to their regular plural, a second form used in a special and technical sense.

4. *Plural of Proper Nouns.* In all cases Proper Nouns preceded by an article in the plural may take the sign of the plural: as, *les Corneilles, les Gracques, des Virgiles* (copies), *des Virgiles* (editions). And so with Proper Nouns referring to the works of great men, as: *des Meissoniers.*

5. *Plural of Nouns borrowed from other languages.* When these words have become quite acclimatised, their plural should be formed according to the general rule: *des exéats, des déficits.*

6. *Compound Nouns.* The present rules may be followed or they may be simplified according to the following principles:

(*a*) Nouns composed of a verb followed by a substantive. These can be written in one word, and their plural formed according to the usual rule. If the verb ends in an *e* mute preceded by a consonant, the *e* mute is to be retained; if the verb ends in an *e* mute preceded by a vowel, or in an unpronounced consonant, the *e* mute or the consonant may be retained or suppressed. Ex.: *un essuiemain* or *un essuimain, des essuiemains* or *essuimains; un abatjour* or *abajour, des abatjours* or *abajours; un garde-côte, des gardecôtes.* But in words where *garde* is evidently a noun, the compound noun will be written in two words, as: *garde forestier, garde général.*

(*b*) Nouns composed of a substantive followed by an adjective or of an adjective followed by a substantive. The two words may be written separately or together, the plural will follow the general rule. Ex.: *un coffre fort* or *coffrefort, des coffres forts* or *coffreforts; une basse cour* or *bassecour, des basses cours* or *bassecours. Grandmère, grandmesse, grandroute,* etc., may be written without an apostrophe.

(*c*) Nouns composed of two adjectives indicating a person or thing. The two words may be written separately without hyphen. Ex.: *un sourd muet, une sourde muette, des sourds muets, des sourdes muettes.*

(*d*) Nouns composed of two substantives in apposition. The two words may be written separately, each forming its own plural, or together without a hyphen with the sign of the plural at the end. Ex.: *un chou fleur* or *choufleur, des choux fleurs* or *choufleurs.*

(*e*) Nouns composed of two substantives or of a substantive and adjective. The two words may be joined together and the sign of the plural placed at the end. But *hôtel Dieu* and *fête Dieu* are better written separately, as at present, although it will not be an error to write *hôteldieu.* The plural of these words, as of *bain marie* and *trou madame*, need not be taught, as they have gone out of use.

(*f*) Nouns compounded of two substantives joined by a preposition may be joined together, and the sign of the plural placed at the end. Ex.: *un tête à tête, un têteà-tête* or *un têtatête, des tête à tête, des têteàtêtes* or *des têtatêtes.*

The Article.

1. The article may be omitted before certain names of persons, where it is now the custom to place one, as *Le Tasse, Le Corrège.*

2. *Du, de la,* and *des* may be used instead of *de* before a noun preceded by an

adjective, as: *du bon pain, de la bonne viande, des bons fruits.*

The Adjective.

1. Adjectives may agree with the nearer of two nouns, as: *un courage et une foi nouvelle.*
2. *Nu, demi,* and *feu* may agree with the nouns they qualify, even if they precede them, as: *nus pieds, une demie heure* (without a hyphen), *feue la reine.*
3. Compound adjectives may be written in one word and the sign of the plural placed at the end, as: *nouveauné, nouveaunée, nouveaunés, nouveaunées.*
4. But adjectives of colour, having become invariable nouns, will remain invariable, as: *des robes bleu clair.*
5. The participles *approuvé, attendu, ci-inclus, ci-joint, excepté, non compris, y compris, ôté, passé, supposé, vu,* which are now invariable when placed before the nouns they qualify, may now agree when they precede, as: *je vous envoie ci joint,* or *ci jointes les pièces demandées.*
6. The numerals *vingt* and *cent* may take the sign of the plural whether they are followed by another number or not, as: *quatre vingts dix élèves, quatre cents trente hommes.*
7. Compound numbers need not have a hyphen between their parts, as: *dix sept.*
8. *Mille* may be written thus even in dates, as: *l'an mille huit cents trente.*
9. *Tout* may agree before all feminine adjectives, as: *des personnes toutes heureuses.*
10. *Même* may be used in the plural after a plural noun or pronoun, and there need be no hyphen between *même* and the pronoun, as: *nous mêmes, les dieux mêmes.*

The Verb.

1. The apostrophe and hyphen may be omitted, as: *entrouvrir, est il.*
2. The verb may be in the plural if preceded by more than one subject in the singular joined by *ni, ou, comme avec, ainsi que.*
3. *C'est* may always be used for *ce sont,* as: *c'est des montagnes et des précipices.*
4. The past participle conjugated with *avoir* may remain invariable in all cases, as: *les livres que j'ai lu*; the past participle of reflexive verbs may also remain invariable: *ils se sont tu.*

The Adverb.

Ne may be omitted after *empêcher, éviter, craindre, douter, contester, nier que, il ne tient pas à, il s'en faut que,* etc. It may also be suppressed after comparatives, and the phrases *à moins que, avant que.*

DE V. PAYEN-PAYNE.

EXAMINING BODIES AND THE SIMPLIFICATION OF FRENCH SYNTAX.

Teachers of French in English Schools must have been awaiting with interest the announcement by English examining bodies of the attitude that they intend to adopt with regard to M. Leygues' decree of July 31. It will be seen that the decisions of the various bodies are not uniform.

While the Civil Service Commissioners and the Delegates of the Oxford Local and of the Cambridge Local Examinations have announced that they will recognise the concessions specified in the decree, the Oxford and Cambridge Schools Examination Board have declared that 'the licences tolerated by the arrêté du 31 juillet 1900 will not be formally recognised by the Board till they have been considered by the French Academy; but in the meantime Examiners will be instructed to bear them in mind both in setting papers and in marking answers.' The Board of Education 'notify that they will endeavour to give effect to the concessions specified in the decree'; and the College of Preceptors will, pending the decision of the Academy, admit all the modifications except those which relate to the Past Participle. No announcement on the subject has yet been made by the University of London.

REPORT ON COMMERCIAL EDUCATION.

A COMMITTEE, appointed by the Edinburgh Merchant Company and Chamber of Commerce and the Leith Chamber of Commerce, has been sitting, under the chairmanship of Mr. John Macmillan, to inquire into the condition of commercial education, and has recently issued its Report. The evidence taken is printed in an appendix, the Report itself containing a review of the present system and its defects, and a number of suggestions for its improvement. These, as reprinted in the *Scotsman* of Oct. 12, are as follows:—

1. That primary education only should be given to pupils under twelve years of age, and that secondary or higher subjects should not be commenced until the pupil has gained the merit certificate or passed an equivalent examination. If this method were followed, the committee believe that not only would the pupil be better grounded in a sound English education, but would also be more likely to get the full benefit to be derived from a secondary course.

2. That it is necessary to provide a more modern secondary education that would better appeal to a large proportion of the pupils. It is acknowledged that the study of Latin and Greek is an admirable mental training, and that some acquaintance with Latin is very helpful to the student of English. Much of the study of Latin and Greek, however, has the disadvantage of being altogether divorced from everyday life, and it is only natural that boys should take more interest in the languages and affairs of tho world in which they live. The committee have no intention of decrying classical education, while asserting that the study of English literature—of English and Scottish history, of the geography of the world, and especially of the English-speaking world, of the elements and principles of science and mathematics—is real education likely to stimulate a boy's highest faculties.

3. That commercial subjects properly so called should not be taught at school, but that, as provided for in the Scottish Code with reference to higher grade commercial schools, 'the study of arithmetic, of history, and of geography should have a commercial application.' The committee consider that the aim of the school course should be to give a sound general education fitting pupils for entering on a commercial career.

4. That the better teaching of modern languages is also a first necessity for the improvement of commercial education. To enable this to be done there is required, to begin with, an admission on the part of educational authorities that a man may be an educated and even a cultured gentleman although he has not seriously studied Latin or Greek; and further, that both France and Germany possess invaluable literatures, with the advantage that they are in languages which are living and not dead. Three steps seem necessary to stimulate the study of modern languages:—(*a*) That the Universities should show proper respect for modern languages by giving the teachers of French and German the same status as the Professors of Latin and Greek; and by approximating the value for these subjects in examinations. (*b*) That students should be induced by bursaries and other means to master modern languages, so that there may be trained for the teaching of French and German, Englishmen and Scotsmen of equal ability and culture to the men who now teach Latin and Greek. The committee are much impressed by the consensus of opinion among the educational authorities who gave evidence that modern languages can never be properly taught in this country until taught by Englishmen and Scotsmen who have had University training and have resided abroad. (*c*) That secondary schools should also dignify the teaching of modern languages by placing them on a level with the dead languages in bursary competitions and in all other respects; and by offering proper remuneration to the teachers of modern languages.

5. That boys should not leave school to enter on a business career until they attain the age of 16, those who can afford to do so being encouraged to remain till 17 or 18; and that employers should, as far as possible, require the production of and give due recognition to the leaving certificates by the Scottish Education Department as evidence of educational attainments. The committee would suggest that the Department be approached with the view of instituting, in connection with school education, group certificates of different grades, that

would come to be universally known and recognised by business men in their selection of apprentices.

6. That it is most necessary that young men should continue their education, after they have begun business, during their leisure hours. In this way the defects of ordinary education may be remedied, and it is during the years of apprenticeship that young men may most profitably study commercial subjects. The committee agree with the witnesses that it is not natural for boys at school to take any interest in such subjects as bills of lading or foreign exchange; but that young men in offices and factories may with advantage study the theories and laws regulating matters with which they are in constant touch in their daily work. Of course if a young man is to derive benefit from the evening classes at the Heriot-Watt College, or any similar institution, he must have set his heart on his work.

7. That in view of the increased attention being given to strengthening and rendering more efficient the modern side in secondary schools, and of the tertiary schools which exist in large towns, such as the Heriot-Watt College in Edinburgh, the committee are not prepared to recommend the institution of a purely commercial school on the lines of the Continental commercial schools at Antwerp, Leipzig, and other places, or of the London School of Economics and Political Science.

8. The committee, while recognising the good work being done by certain Chambers of Commerce and other mercantile bodies in Scotland, by means of examinations for commercial certificates, are of opinion that that such work would be more efficiently accomplished on a uniform system by a national examining board. It is accordingly suggested that the proposal be brought before the Scottish Education Department.

9. That to enable commercial education to take its proper place in the educational arrangements of the country and fully to meet the requirements of commerce, it is desirable that Faculties of Commerce should be established in our Universities. It is the opinion of the committee that such Faculties would have a very beneficial effect in raising the status and importance of the commercial side in the secondary schools, by giving it, like the classical or science side, an opening to the University, by moulding and regulating the course of study, and by inducing pupils of ability who at present prefer another course, because it leads to the University, to study for a commercial career. Turning to the interests of commerce, the committee believe that a University education would be of the greatest service to the men who are to occupy the chief positions in large commercial undertakings. To discharge aright the important and delicate duties and responsibilities which devolve upon them, the development of mind and width of culture which are produced by University study are as essential as in the case of the professional man, and there is no reason why the possession of a University degree should not be placed within the reach of the one as well as the other. The classes of modern languages, of political economy, and possibly one or more of the present history and law classes would form the nucleus of a Faculty of Commerce, and to these might gradually be added classes having more direct reference to the history and practice of commerce. The education to be provided by such a Faculty would primarily be taken advantage of by young men having the means and the leisure to attend as regular students, but others engaged in business might, as is the practice with lawyers' and accountants' apprentices, also take the classes if suitable hours were fixed. It would also be available for the training of those who might act as teachers of commercial subjects in schools. Although the committee hold the opinions in regard to University education above expressed, they feel that the evidence given by the business men who came before them shows that the need for that education is not appreciated by the mercantile community, and they respectfully urge Chambers of Commerce and other mercantile bodies to consider this important subject, and mature the opinion of business men in regard to it.

The committee have not thought it necessary to make any recommendation in regard to the education of girls as distinguished from that of boys. They hold that for the purpose of commercial education differentiation is not required, and that if their views as above expressed were adopted, the increasing number of girls who look forward to clerkships, as well as the few who aspire to higher positions of trust in mercantile life, would, equally with boys, have the means of obtaining suitable education. While it has been the business of the committee to endeavour to find out what are the weak points in commercial education, and to suggest a remedy, they have at the same time been gratified to

find that the subject of commercial education has recently received considerable attention in the enlightened policy of the Scottish Education Department and in the progressive administration of local school authorities. Bearing in mind, also, that Her Majesty's Government are expected to reintroduce next session of Parliament a bill for the promotion of higher education in Scotland, the committee regard this as a specially opportune time for bringing forward the subject of this Report.

The Report is signed by Mr. Macmillan, Master of the Merchant Company, as convener.

FROM HERE AND THERE.

We publish elsewhere a notice of the late Professor Max Müller, who, in 1893, was the first President of the Modern Language Association.

* * * * *

At the invitation of Principal Dale and the Arts Faculty of University College, Liverpool, the next General Meeting of the Association will be held at Liverpool on January 3 and 4, 1901. It is particularly hoped that Members will make an effort to be present, so that the meeting may be as representative as possible. Full details of the arrangements will be sent in due course.

* * * * *

In connection with this meeting Professor Paul Barbier will give a lecture on 'Wales and the Welsh' to the *Société Littéraire Française de Liverpool* on Thursday evening, January 3rd, at 8 o'clock.

* * * * *

A holiday course will be held at Marburg during the Christmas vacation, beginning on January 3rd. It will consist of a course of lectures by Professor Kühnemann, dealing with the classical period of German literature, and two courses on German language and phonetics by Mr. Cocker. Courses on German economic history, the history of the German language and the psychological basis of education, will begin on January 9th. Applications must be made to Herr A. Cocker, Villa Cranston, Marburg a.d. Lahn, before December 14th. Programmes may be had on application to the Honorary Secretary, Mr. W. G. Lipscomb (Univ. Coll. School, London, W.C.).

The Modern Language Quarterly

NOTICE TO CONTRIBUTORS.—*The Modern Language Quarterly* is open for the discussion of all questions connected with the study and teaching of Medieval and Modern Languages and Literatures. Contributions dealing with Germanic should be sent to Dr. BREUL, 10 Cranmer Road, Cambridge (note change of address); with Romance, to Prof. V. SPIERS, 91 Holland Road, Kensington, London, W.; with methods of teaching Modern Languages in Schools, to Mr. E. L. MILNER-BARRY, M.A., Mill Hill School, N.W.; with the Bibliographical List, to Prof. WALTER RIPPMANN, 72 Ladbroke Grove, Notting Hill, London, W.; and those dealing with all other subjects, to Mr. W. W. GREG, Park Lodge, Victoria Road, Wimbledon Park, London, S.W. All contributions should be clearly written, and should bear the name and address of the author on the last page.

NOTICE TO SUBSCRIBERS.—*The Modern Language Quarterly* will be sent post free to all members of the Modern Language Association who have paid their subscription for the current year. Applications for membership and subscriptions (10s. 6d. per ann.) should be sent to the Hon. Sec., W. G. LIPSCOMB, M.A., University College School, Gower Street, London, W.C.

The
Modern Language Quarterly

Edited by
H. FRANK HEATH

With the assistance of
K. H. BREUL, I. GOLLANCZ, W. W. GREG (Sub-Editor),
E. L. MILNER-BARRY, A. W. POLLARD, W. RIPPMANN,
and V. SPIERS

Vol. III. Christmas 1900 No. 3.

THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING of the Modern Language Association was held at University College, Liverpool, by the kind invitation of the Principal and the Faculty of Arts, on Thursday, January 3, and Friday, January 4, 1901.

The University Club and the German Club, both in Sandon Terrace, offered to Members the privilege of Membership during the Meeting.

Professor J. P. Mahaffy, D.D., Mus.D., D.C.L., has accepted the Presidency of the Association for 1901.

Subjoined is the Programme of the Meeting.

Programme of the Annual General Meeting.

THURSDAY, *January* 3.

3 *o'clock.* Hon. Secretary's Report and other business.

3.30 „ The President's Address. (Dr. Richard Garnett, C.B.)

4 „ *Resolution*: 'That the simplifications of French Syntax included in the Edict of the French Minister of Education, July 31, 1900, should be admitted in English Schools and Examinations, and that they should be taught concurrently with the existing orthography.' (Mr. H. W. Atkinson, Rossall School.)

4.45 „ *Resolution*: 'That the Aim of Modern Language Teaching should be literary rather than colloquial.' (Rev. W. Stuart Macgowan, Cheltenham College.)

6.30 *o'clock.* DINNER at the Adelphi Hotel.

8.30 „ RECEPTION at the Royal Institution, Colquitt Street, in which the Members of the Literary and Philosophical Society, the Philomathic Society, the Société Littéraire Française, the German Club, the Italian Literary Society, and the Alliance Française de Liverpool, will take part.

Lectures will be given during the Reception by Professor Paul Barbier (Le Pays de Galles et les Gallois) and Professor W. W. Skeat, Litt.D.

FRIDAY, *January* 4.

10 *o'clock.* *Resolution*: 'That one Modern Language should be included as a compulsory subject in every University Matriculation or Entrance Examination. (Mr. E. L. Milner-Barry, Mill Hill School.)

11 ,, *Resolution*: 'That no examination in Modern Languages can be considered satisfactory that does not include a *viva voce* test apart from dictation.' (Mr. Th. Demant, Newcastle-on-Tyne.)

11.30 ,, *Resolution*: 'That the principles of the Allgemeiner Deutscher Sprachverein are worthy of the hearty support of this Association.' (Mr. Otto Siepmann, Clifton College.)

11.45 *o'clock.* *Final Report* of the Phonetic Sub-Committee. (Dr. R. J. Lloyd, Liverpool University College.)

12.15 ,, *Resolution*: 'That steps should be taken to commemorate, in some form, Professor Max Müller's services to the study of German in this country.' (Prof. H. G. Fiedler, Birmingham University.)

1.30 ,, LUNCH at the University Club.

Report of the Annual General Meeting.

PROCEEDINGS at the Annual Meeting, held in the Arts Theatre of University College, Liverpool, on Thursday, January 3, and Friday, January 4, 1901, under the Presidency of Dr. Richard Garnett, C.B.

THURSDAY, *January* 3.

The proceedings were commenced at 3 o'clock.

Hon. Secretary's Report.

The following report was presented by the Hon. Secretary, **Mr. W. G. Lipscomb**:—

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I am happy to be able to report that the membership of the Association continues to show a steady increase. Thirty-nine new members have been elected in 1900, while sixteen have either withdrawn or gone away without leaving any address to which letters can be forwarded to them. Thus the total number of members is now 347.

It will, however, be only too well known to you already that we have lost two of our most distinguished honorary members during the year. Professor Buchheim died on July 7, and, since then, the Right Hon. Professor Max Müller, the earliest President of the Association, has also passed away.

There have been during the year three meetings of the General Committee, with an average attendance of over ten members, and four meetings of the Executive Committee, with an average attendance of nine. The General Committee has co-opted Messrs. W. W. Greg, F. B. Kirkman, and R. J. Lloyd. A Sub-Committee, consisting of Messrs. Eve, Milner-Barry, Pollard, Siepmann, C. G. Steel, and Storr, has been appointed 'to try and draw up a time-table suited to schools, and giving a fair proportion of time to English, French, and German.'

By permission of the Senate of the University of London, the last Annual General Meeting of the Association was held in the Theatre of the University at Burlington House. Professor Skeat, who was then President of the Association, was presented with his portrait, which was subscribed for by members of the Association and many others who gladly availed themselves of the opportunity of showing their appreciation of his work. Several important Resolutions were passed at the same meeting, and copies of these were sent to Local Secretaries with a request that they should be brought to the notice of modern language teachers in their districts. One of the Resolutions—viz., 'That set books prescribed by an outside authority should be abolished in all external school examinations in French and German'—was confirmed by a Resolution passed by the Headmasters' Conference on December 21 last.

At the invitation of the General Committee, Mr. H. W. Eve, as the representative of the Association, attended the Neuphilologentag which was held at Leipzig last Whitsuntide. An interesting account of the Conference, by Mr. Eve, appeared in the July number of *The Modern Language Quarterly*.

The agreement with Messrs. J. M. Dent & Co. for the publication of *The Modern Quarterly* having been terminated by mutual consent, a fresh agreement has been entered into with Mr. David Nutt, by which the journal, to be called *The Modern Language Quarterly*, will be published three times a year, the Association to pay the publisher 5s. 6d. annually per member.

Copies of the *Arrêté* of the French Minister for Education dated July 31, 1900, and containing certain modifications in French syntax which are to be admitted in all State examinations and schools in France, have been sent to all members of the Modern Language Association.

I have great pleasure in stating that the Rev. J. P. Mahaffy, D.D., Mus.D., D.C.L., Fellow and Tutor of Trinity College, Dublin, has accepted the invitation of the Committee to be President of the Association in 1901.

In accordance with the rules of the Association, ten members of the General Committee retire, and an election will be held to fill the vacancies thus caused. The retiring members, who are re-eligible, are Messrs. Atkinson, Braunholtz, Breul, Bridge, Macdonell, Macgowau, Rippmann, Schüddekopf, Somerville, and H. C. Steel. The names of candidates who have been nominated will be found on the voting papers.

The Committee desires once more to acknowledge the courtesy of the College of Preceptors in allowing its meetings to be held at the College during the past year.

Absent Members.

Mr. Lipscomb said that he had received letters from Dr. Breul and Dr. Heath stating that they were both too hard at work at present to be able to attend the meeting. Dr. Breul and Dr. Heath were two members to whom the Association was under great obligation, and they both reminded him in their letters that this was the first occasion on which they had missed attending a general meeting of the Association since its foundation.

On the proposal of the President, the Secretary's report was unanimously adopted.

Election to fill Vacancies in the General Committee.

Mr. Lipscomb stated that he had received only ten nominations of gentlemen as Members of the Committee, and as there were as many vacancies to be filled, no ballot would be necessary.

The President's Address.

Dr. Garnett then delivered the following address:—

'Ladies and Gentlemen,—An exceptional President rises to address you on an exceptional occasion. In doing me the great honour which you did me last year, you departed from the rules that usually guide you, and chose as your President one whose absolute unacquaintance with the methods of tuition is far from being compensated by philological eminence. If indeed I could bring a knowledge of our own special subject of modern languages rivalling my distinguished predecessor's acquaintance with our mother tongue in all its stages, or my no less distinguished successor's proficiency in classical scholarship, I should feel that I was not unworthily bridging the interval between them. But this is far from being the case, and I can but feel myself a humble figure between Professor Skeat, who has done for Chaucer what Pisistratus did for Homer, and Professor Mahaffy, who has wrung testaments from sarcophagi as the Jews anciently wrung oracles from teraphim:

> Propheten rechts, Propheten links,
> Das Weltkind in der Mitte.

'But, as I have said, the circumstances are also exceptional. The question before us just now is not to discuss how modern languages should be taught, but to get them taught. A great opportunity has been presented to us: it is our business, postponing for the moment everything else, to consider how best to take advantage of it. And perhaps such a deliberation may be fitly initiated by one who, having no other interest in the matter than that which he shares with every member of the community, cannot be suspected of pleading *pro domo sua*.

'I have said that a great opportunity has been offered to us. I allude, of course, to that general shaking up and searching of heart which usually occurs at least once in a generation, and the cause of which at this moment is the war in South Africa. This contest, carried on under circumstances of great difficulty, has inevitably revealed many national defects and shortcomings; and there are those who talk as if the system of administration had broken down. I am not one of those persons. It seems to me that the great representative departments by whose efficiency the nation as a whole must stand or fall, have done exceedingly well, and that the too frequent vexations incidents are nearly always traceable to the mistakes or ill-luck of individuals. It is nevertheless beyond question that the war has revealed many points in our system needing improvement; and although improvements in military affairs are the first consideration, it has speedily appeared that you cannot make soldiers and officers thoroughly efficient even as military machines without trenching upon departments of human activity which at first sight seem to have little connexion with warfare. Among these is the study of modern languages. The discovery is by no means new. Livy tells us that the great Hannibal, perhaps the most consummate tactician that ever lived, was once in imminent danger of being cut off with all his army, from not knowing the difference between *Casinum* and *Casilinum*. But it is more important now, when the best books on tactics and strategy and artillery are not always either written in or translated into English, when the needs of our world-wide empire bring our military into contact with such extraordinary linguistic phenomena as the South African "taal," the comprehension of which a knowledge of German so greatly assists; when the increasing solidarity of nations sets us in China side by side with Frenchmen, Germans, Italians and Russians. This special utility of modern languages to the

soldier is indeed but a small portion of our case as teachers of these languages, but it is invaluable as awakening public attention to all the rest. It does not require much perspicacity to discover that if a knowledge of idioms actually spoken is important in the happily exceptional times of war, and in contests confined to a limited area, it must be even more important for the ceaseless struggles of peace, when nation contests with nation for commercial supremacy, and the conflict is not confined to a corner of the earth, but extends over every part of it; when in fact we hear laments, and ought to hear invocations, from two different classes, the merchants and manufacturers who complain that they are losing their markets for want of agents qualified as linguists, and the clerks who complain that they are losing their situations because they are not such agents themselves.

'This general feeling of a serious deficiency in our educational methods on the side of modern languages, though somewhat overborne by the consciousness of other needs even more pressing, has found a pretty general expression of late, and has in particular been emphatically proclaimed by one of the foremost men of our time, Lord Rosebery, who assigns it a prominent place among those vital "questions of empire" which formed the subject of the rectorial address recently delivered by him at Glasgow. He says:

'"I think that when our national ignorance of foreign languages has become not merely a byword but almost a commercial disaster, we might reconsider a part of our educational apparatus. This is no new question. Thirty-three years ago it was raised at Edinburgh by one who was not merely a remarkable statesman but a brilliant scholar. [The reference is to Robert Lowe, Viscount Sherbrooke.] He had been a famous classical tutor at Oxford, yet nevertheless he protested against our educational bondage to the dead languages. The same protest is being raised in Edinburgh to-day, but this time by the voice of the mercantile community. The leading bodies of that calling lately appointed a committee to consider the subject of commercial education. Their report is well worth reading. [It will be found at the end of the last number of *The Modern Language Quarterly*.] They speak of the ancient tongues with courtesy and respect, but they demand something more practically useful, less divorced from everyday life. For one thing, they urge with earnestness the better teaching of modern languages. There is required, they say, on the part of the educational authorities, an admission that a man may be an educated and even a cultured gentleman, although he has not seriously studied Latin or Greek; and they further point out that both France and Germany possess invaluable literatures, with the advantage that they are in languages which are living and not dead. I agree with them in thinking for the purposes of the present age, especially for the merchant and the politician, there is required a more modern education, especially as regards languages."

'Such an expression of opinion from so high an authority as Lord Rosebery must be in the highest degree encouraging to us, and the more so when it is taken in connexion with the general scope and character of his address. Having to draw the attention of an academical audience to a number of "questions of empire"—questions, that is, vital to the maintenance of our country's present imperial position in the world, he lays his finger among others upon the very point which we are agitating ourselves. It is his business to signalise the problem as urgent, not to point out the way in which it is to be solved. This is remarked by an able correspondent of the *Times*, with whose identity I am unacquainted, whose letter appeared in the issue of December 26, over the signature, "Sapere Aude." "Lord Rosebery," he says, "rightly urged that something should be done as soon as possible to remedy the lamentable ignorance of foreign languages which has become a source of real danger to the nation; but neither he nor others who have discussed the subject have, to my knowledge, thrown out any definite suggestions as to the means by which modern language studies in this country could be promoted with the greatest chance of success." I think, however, that most of "Sapere Aude's" suggestions, as respects the encouragement of the study of modern languages in public schools and universities, must have been made before. There is one, however, which is novel to me at least, and which, being desirous of circulating as widely as possible, I will state in his own words. It deserves attention, not merely as an excellent suggestion in itself, but as one easier to carry out than some others which involve more or less of friction or collision with other educational ideals.

'"County Councils," he says, "and governing bodies of towns, should grant the necessary funds for instituting travelling scholarships and bursaries to be given to

modern language students of promise, and also to modern language masters, on condition that they should spend six months at least abroad, *e.g.* in France or Germany, studying the language and customs of foreign nations, and after their return send in a full report as to the manner in which they employed their time. Bursaries of this kind are actually given to modern language teachers by many German States and towns, as also by the State in France and other continental countries, and I have had ample opportunity of satisfying myself that the money spent on such bursaries could not have been spent to a better purpose. Year after year a number of foreign students and teachers return from our shores to their native country, after having acquired a very fair command of English as well as an insight into our social and commercial life and customs. The result of the wide information and of the easy handling of the foreign language thus acquired is shown in the success which such men and women obtain afterwards as teachers of English in their own country."

'I think that this is a suggestion which County Councils are very likely to adopt. They have in many cases shown much intelligence and public spirit in aiding the industries principally pursued in their own districts. Technical education has of course obtained the lion's share, but it should not be difficult to convince them that if a knowledge of foreign languages tends to supply merchants and manufacturers with competent clerks, correspondents, and commercial travellers, it is an important part of technical education. This subject, however, belongs to the extensive region of our subject outside the zone of public school and university influence. To it I shall return, but the question how to secure for modern languages their rightful place in universities and public schools demands attention first, as being by much the more delicate and difficult. The remarks of "Sapere Aude" on the value of an efficient modern language department to our leading educational institutions, and on the duty of these institutions to do their best to promote the national interest in this matter, are most excellent, but they are mainly hortatory. If the institutions in question already agree with them, they are not required; and if these do not agree with them, no machinery is suggested for their conversion. I fear we must recognise it as a fact that the highest educational authorities in the country are not at present with us. Such appears to be the opinion of Lord Rosebery, who, although inserting a qualifying phrase, expresses no dissent from the allegation of the mercantile community of Edinburgh that "there is required on the part of the educational authorities an admission that a man may be an educated and even a cultured gentleman although he has not seriously studied Latin or Greek." I should, for my part, have hesitated to consider such an admission necessary. If I thought the "educational authorities" capable of denying a matter of ordinary knowledge and everyday demonstration, I should have to admit that the study of classical literature instead of exerting, as I firmly believe that it does, a refining and liberalising influence upon the mind, was all blight and blindness; and I could think no otherwise of the authorities in question than of the schoolmaster in Smollett, whose estimate of Frederick the Great was materially affected by his doubts whether the great King, with all his victories, knew how to conjugate a verb in -$\mu\iota$. But, without going this length, there is ample evidence of a want of sympathy, occasioned, to be just, not, as might have been the case a century ago, by the ignorant contempt of pedagogues for what they did not understand, but by a divergence of ideals, more apparent, it may be hoped, than actual. To obtain respect for our own position we must understand that of others, and I am much gratified to know that I am addressing an audience which cannot be suspected of hostility to public schools, inasmuch as it is largely composed of masters in these institutions. We can therefore recognise much wisdom in the academical ideal, in so far as it is a protest against the merely utilitarian ideal which at one time threatened to dominate in education. The object is not to cram an ordinary mind with knowledge of all sorts, leaving the mind itself as ordinary as you found it, but to make an ordinary mind into a fine one by a course of instruction adapted to develop its faculties. But, taking this as the ideal common to us all, I would ask schoolmasters to consider whether it cannot be attained without exclusive devotion to the classical languages; and whether, for a large order of minds, classical study is the best means of attaining it. I suppose it is admitted, for the maxim is certainly in harmony with the traditions of one of our great universities, that for many persons mathematical studies are a more efficient discipline than classical, and why not the

study of modern languages? Not that I am in the least inclined to proscribe either Latin or Greek, but I draw a distinction between them. In Peacock's *Crotchet Castle* it is proposed to represent a Greek play, and the condition of admission to the performance is to be the ability to "expound the Greek choruses." A question arises respecting the admission of ladies, and it is ruled that every gentleman may bring in a lady, and that she who can construe and metricise a chorus may, if she so pleases, pass in by herself. In the same spirit I would make the study of Greek a privilege —and a very precious privilege I should consider it—to be earned by proficiency in the study of Latin. Latin—and not French or any other modern foreign language, and still less English—should in my opinion be the foundation of everything. It gives the key to a number of other languages, including to a considerable extent our own; it is an admirable instrument for sifting and testing capacities, and an unsurpassed mental discipline. But, in a great number of cases, it should be strictly the foundation, not the edifice. If, from the character of the mind, you cannot lay this foundation very broad and deep, it seems useless to rear upon it the superstructure of Latin scholarship, much less of Greek. Better the lighter edifice of modern languages, to the acquisition of which Latin will afford invaluable help. I think that the instructors to whom I have referred, who regard the end of education less as the actual communication of knowledge than as the disciplining and strengthening the intellect, must agree that this object can be better attained by training the pupil in what is easy and pleasant to him—such training being of an elevating nature—than by forcing upon him studies for which he has not the ability or the taste. Mr. T. E. Brown, late Master at Clifton College, in his delightful letters recently published, admits that nineteen boys out of twenty derive no tangible benefit from their Greek studies, but he maintains that they derive an intangible benefit from mere contiguity to classical culture. I would not dispute this in the case of the finer-natured boys, but I must say that one is somewhat reminded of the story of the old lady, and the sermon, and the benign influence of "that blessed word Mesopotamia."

'At the same time I must guard most earnestly against the notion that modern languages are only for the boys of inferior capacity, and that those who are competent to study Greek should be excused from them. Not at all. Why is it proposed to relieve the ordinary boy from the infliction of learning Greek? Simply and solely because he has not the capacity; but this consideration does not apply to the boy able to master Greek, who *has* the capacity to learn modern languages along with it. I am quite aware of the force of the difficulty urged by Mr. Lyttelton, the headmaster of Haileybury, in a letter to the *Times*, that the number of subjects which for one reason or another it is desirable in the abstract for a boy to study is alarmingly numerous, and that if he is taught them all he runs a risk of mastering none of them. But I submit that this applies chiefly to ordinary boys, who would be relieved and not additionally hindered by the substitution of modern languages for Greek. The boy who has brains enough for Greek, or, supposing his abilities to be of another order, mathematical and physical science, will have no difficulty in acquiring the moderate knowledge of French and German, which is all that the interests of the community require. Even if he should relax his attention to Greek or to science for the moment, the interests of these studies will be served in the long run, for he will not be able to attain eminence in either if he is unacquainted with the writings of foreign scholars and experts. I should deeply deplore any decadence of the study of Greek in this country, but I do not see how this can be a consequence of restricting it to those by whom it can be pursued with advantage. Such a step would neither impair the intellectual pleasure of Greek, nor take away any of the honours and emoluments, university and others, by which it is now encouraged.

'This observation brings me to the most vital point of my address. We pronounce the study of Greek safe, because there is a machinery for keeping it up. This machinery consists mainly of honours and rewards for its prosecution, bestowed by the schools themselves, and by the universities. We have at present no such machinery to promote the teaching of modern languages. In pressing this upon schools we are in a measure pressing them to do what is contrary to their own interests, as it will bring them neither profit nor honour. They depend for their repute very largely upon the roll of honours which their pupils obtain at the universities, and few or no such honours are awarded for proficiency in modern languages. To

encourage it the schools want not merely a motive, but a tangible motive. Of course this would be speedily supplied if public opinion were thoroughly aroused, and it were observed that schools obtained pupils in proportion to the attention devoted to this study. But it takes a long time to arouse public opinion; when it is aroused it has a habit of going to sleep again; and in any case it would be better able to ensure the amount of the instruction given than to appraise its quality and value. We want some machinery which shall work smoothly, automatically, irresistibly upon schools and colleges, ensuring that modern languages shall be taught there, and universally taught, and efficiently taught: something of which we may say, as the late Mr. Fox was able to say of his specific for the development of whiskers: "Our formula *compels* them to grow." Is there such a formula? I think there is. Something might be done to make due attention to modern languages imperative upon all schools that maintain relations with the universities, and which consequently, from the necessity of adapting their curriculum to the university course, are the hardest to move until the university itself has been influenced. If we can make it the interest of the university to require a reasonable standard of attainment from schools (and it would be a great mistake to insist upon an excessive standard), the thing would be done. Since I began to write my paper I have observed that the proposal I am about to commend to you is the subject of one of the resolutions to be moved to-morrow, and I am glad of the opportunity of stating that in my opinion no more important subject for discussion could be found. In myself bringing forward anew the suggestion of another, I am but picking up an arrow shot thirteen years ago, one which, although, in my opinion, it hit the mark, fell blunted to the earth, and which may be discharged again and again, but will not always be a *telum imbelle sine ictu*. It was made by a man of high intellectual distinction, too early lost to his country, Mr. Charles Fyffe, author of *A History of Modern Europe*. Mr. Fyffe, himself an Oxford man, contributed to *The Reign of Queen Victoria*, a collection of essays written for the Queen's Jubilee of 1887, and edited by Mr. Thomas Humphry Ward, an account of the progress of the universities during Her Majesty's reign. Of this progress, as regards the instructors themselves and the intellectual minority of their pupils, he speaks with high appreciation, but he is forced to admit that it is merely partial, and to propose a method for making it more general. He says:

'"By the side of the men who turn to good account the opportunities offered them, there exists the great mass of idlers sent up merely for social or conventional purposes, who drag down the educational level in many of the colleges, and perpetuate a tradition of almost childish self-indulgence and devotion to amusement. The Pass degree, though somewhat better than of old, is still a very poor affair. Statute may follow statute; but until there arises a sufficiently strong body of opinion among the authorities of the colleges, no adequate reform will be made from within in this direction. If hundreds of men are admitted who up to nineteen have only learned how to enjoy themselves, they, and not the examiners, will set the standard of the Pass degree. By one very simple enactment Parliament might indeed cure the evil at a stroke. A Bill consisting of a single clause, requiring that every undergraduate of Oxford or Cambridge should have passed the matriculation test at London University, would do more good than the institution of countless Boards of Studies."

'When I read this I perceived that this was indeed the way to raise the general standard of study at the universities. Let the universities, or Parliament as recommended by Mr. Fyffe, take effectual measures to make the matriculation examination a reality, and there will be no undergraduates who have not learned something before they come, and imbibed something of the habits of students. What is still more important, a great stimulus would be imparted to schools, public and private, throughout the kingdom. If it were once thoroughly understood that no pupil could be admitted into the university unless he were thoroughly well educated, every pupil would be well educated. But the evil of deficient training must be dealt with nearer the source than the university. At present the university either neglects the ignorant undergraduate, or, often fruitlessly, spends time and trouble in making him fit when, by insisting on a strict matriculation examination, it might have had him fit from the first; for it must be remembered that the passing of such an examination is not an isolated fact in the candidate's life, related to nothing preceding, but implies years of sound training. However, I am not to discourse on university reform

in general, but to point out how invaluable a fair examination in some modern language or languages, as an indispensable preliminary to matriculation or to a contest for a scholarship, would be to the cause we have at heart. Schoolmasters would never consent to see their brilliant pupils, able to triumph in competitive examinations in Greek and Mathematics, debarred from distinction and emoluments for want of a moderate knowledge of foreign languages. They would be as zealous in imparting this knowledge as they are now for the most part unfortunately lukewarm. Nor would the parents of less brilliant boys submit to see their sons excluded from the university on the same account, and if, as is possible, such boys could only be fitted for the examination by being relieved of much that they are now learning to little purpose, the parents would insist upon this being done, and the system would adjust itself to the condition of things desired by Lord Rosebery. I will only add, to prevent the possibility of misconstruction, that the study to be discarded might just as well be physical science as Greek, if physical science had as many unwilling votaries.

'A most important question remains—By what authority are examinations in modern languages, as indispensable conditions of matriculation or admission to competitive examinations for scholarships, to be prescribed and regulated? You will have observed that Mr. Fyffe, although an Oxford man, does not seem to trust his own university in the matter, but proposes that the neophytes of the older universities should submit to the matriculation examination of the University of London. He even says that a proposal to this effect "could not be opposed with decorum." If it could not be opposed decorously, I fear it would be opposed indecorously, for it is not likely that one university would willingly delegate to another the control over the admission of her own alumni. The university concerned certainly ought to participate, and this she could do with dignity and effect through the medium of the readers in modern languages whom she has herself created. The importance of these posts would be enormously increased by the new regulation, and they would soon become what they ought to be now, professorships. At the same time, as the professors would be the subsequent teachers of the candidates they examined, who would of course be required to keep up their knowledge during their residence at the university, the examination ought not to be intrusted entirely to them, and they ought not to object to share their responsibility with some extraneous authority. What should this authority be? I answer, Gentlemen, ourselves. We are, I think I may say without immodesty, a progressive and flourishing society; but I think I may say with equal freedom from undue assumption that we do not as yet occupy that position in the public estimation to which we are entitled. Public opinion does not yet place us on a level with the Society of Arts, or the Society of Antiquaries, or the Society of Civil Engineers, and yet we are associated for an object of greater national importance than any of these, and are freer from amateurs than two out of the three. So long as we are merely a private and unofficial society this must be the case. What is wanted is a public recognition of our importance as a body existing for a national purpose, and capable of rendering valuable service to the country. This recognition can hardly take any other form than that of a charter of incorporation. The Library Association has recently obtained such a charter, and it could hardly be refused to us. A short time ago, I own, I might have doubted whether things were ripe for such a movement. But, as I have already said, recent events have prodigiously advanced the cause of intellectual improvement in all departments, and in that of modern languages as much as any. Not only do all such causes stand in a much more favourable position than they did twelve months ago, but, which is even more to the point, they occupy a more favourable position then they may twelve months hence, if their advocates are not prompt in taking advantage of the auspicious opportunity.

> "Be in the van
> Of circumstance, yea seize the arrow's barb
> Before the tense string murmur."

The advantages to ourselves, from being recognised as an organised public body, honoured with that approval of the Crown and its advisers which incorporation implies, are too evident to require pointing out. Had we been such already, it is quite likely that Lord Rosebery's observations on the national importance of the study of modern languages might have been addressed to us instead of to the students of Glasgow. We should also have been enabled, and in fact compelled, to widen our own basis, and to recruit ourselves largely from the classes which take either a literary or a com-

mercial interest in the object which we exist to promote. As regards the all-important point of ensuring the reality of the study of foreign languages by making proficiency in them a necessary condition of university matriculation, it is clear that so long as we are merely a private society we can only promote it as individuals. We can at most petition Parliament; and supposing our prayer granted, we cannot claim to have a share in prescribing or conducting the examinations. As an incorporated society we can negotiate with the universities on even terms; we can, if these negotiations prove unsatisfactory, introduce a Bill into Parliament; and we can claim a voice in settling the scheme and participating in its execution. One example of the usefulness of such a body is afforded by Mr. Lyttelton's letter to the *Times*. He expresses considerable confidence in a new method of teaching modern languages which he states to have been successfully tried at Frankfort. This may be so, but so far as regards this country at least, this method is a matter of private enterprise and experiment. No public authority has pronounced upon it, nor is there any such whose pronouncement would command universal confidence. This would not be the case if our body stood in that relation towards our own subject which the Royal Society, for example, occupies towards physical science.

'I have left myself little time to speak of the still larger subject of the teaching of modern languages to the bulk of our nation, outside the world of universities and the schools which feed them. Nor is it necessary to say very much, for here we have no artificial difficulties. We have only to consider the material difficulties of providing opportunities of instruction to the classes which require it, and of helping them to avail themselves of these opportunities. These undertakings are in stronger hands than ours, and all we have to do is to co-operate as far as we can with the School Boards which are endeavouring to extend education by means of evening schools for the students who have passed the age of Board School training, and to take care, so far as our influence extends, that the study of modern languages has its proper place in the scheme of instruction. In this there will be little difficulty: it may even happen that the reform of the education of the higher classes may come from below. An illustrious statesman, who formerly represented this city, eloquently, if grandiloquently, declared that, in recognising the independence of the South American republics, "he had called a new world into existence to redress the balance of the old." So it may come to pass that what is faulty in public school and university methods will be reformed when the superior classes discover that their inferiors, through a more practical training, are beating them in the battle of life.

'That I may not seem oblivious of the fairer half of humanity, I must remark that I am well aware that the teaching of modern languages to ladies is also an object of deep national interest and an important concern of our Society. I hear complaints from quarters entitled to attention that this teaching is not what it ought to be. It is said that, although more girls may learn modern languages than formerly, few learn them so thoroughly as they were often learned in the last generation. The cause assigned is the multiplicity of subjects required by public opinion. A school loses caste, it is said, that drops a single "-ology," though all the other "-ologies" may be taught the better for its absence. I greatly sympathise with schoolmasters and schoolmistresses thus coerced against their better judgment, but I may be allowed to hint that the public may not be so unreasonable as it seems. It is conceivable that it may wish to see every subject represented on the school programme, but it does not necessarily follow that it wishes to have all subjects taught to everybody. Instructors, if only to cover their own responsibility, should be careful to inform parents of the special capabilities of their pupils; and if a parent knew that any particular pursuit was not merely a waste of time in itself, but an impediment to excellence in some other department, I think common sense would generally lead him to direct its discontinuance.

'This is the only remark of a technical nature which I shall presume to offer. You have frequently heard valuable observations on the science of teaching, and the practical methods of imparting instruction in modern languages, from Presidents qualified to speak upon these subjects with authority. In electing a President who is no expert in tuition, you have, of course, renounced the expectation of hearing anything serviceable to the teacher as such. My object has been to adapt my discourse strictly to the conditions of our times, the hopes they excite, and the opportunities they present. I shall conclude with a remark of a general nature which seems to be called for, and which may most fitly proceed from the President of

this Association, inexpert as he may be in educational methods. I read with some uneasiness Mr. Lyttelton's assumption of an existing compromise by which modern languages are to be taught on the "modern sides" of the public schools. If the modern side were equal to the other side in public estimation, and in its own, this might pass; but it is to be feared that the schools where modern sides exist are in general painfully lopsided. Right or wrong, the impression prevails that in many cases the modern side is but a tub thrown to the whale of public opinion, and that in some it is even used as a machine for disposing of inferior boys. You cannot more irremediably damage any pursuit than by affixing a stigma of inferiority to it. It would be better not to take it up at all. In fact, however, granting that a school must have two sides, the arrangement which puts every old study on one side and every new one on the other is preposterous. Such a distinction is not organic, but purely mechanical. To whatever side the classical languages belong, their daughters and successors, the modern languages, belong to it also. The antithesis is not between classical philology and modern languages, but between philology, ancient and modern, and the exact sciences. In a well-organised school we should see the modern taught along with the classical languages as a department of philology, the clever boys studying them, not to an unreasonable extent, and rather from a literary than a colloquial point of view, along with their Latin and Greek; the less gifted, while persevering with the Latin which so greatly assists the study of every modern tongue, including their own, finding time for modern idioms by being relieved of the Greek which is to them a useless burden. A similar arrangement would, *mutatis mutandis*, exist on the mathematical and physical side of the school. For modern languages are amphisbænic, they proceed both ways, they enter life at all sides, they are profitable for things ancient and things modern; the most consummate classical scholar, the most profound mathematician or naturalist, can no more dispense with them than can the ordinary youth who seeks to earn his livelihood by the pursuit of commerce.'

Mr. Storr said that he, as Chairman of the Committee, had been deputed to propose a vote of thanks to Dr. Garnett for his address. He was sure that they were all grateful to Dr. Garnett. The President had said that he had had more distinguished predecessors. He (Mr. Storr) could not join in that opinion; but there had been one equally distinguished predecessor, namely, the first of their presidents, whose loss they all mourned that day. To that gentleman they were all extremely grateful for throwing the ægis of his name over their infant association. When chosen as President he stipulated that he was to do absolutely nothing, and he did nothing (laughter); but they were none the less grateful to him. But Dr. Garnett had not only given them his name, but he had appeared and made his presence felt on two occasions, and the fact of the growth of the Society in dignity and importance was shown by their being able to boast that on their platform to-day they had both a present and a past President. He was sure that all the members would join with him (Mr. Storr) in giving a hearty vote of thanks to Dr. Garnett for his admirable address.

Mr. Milner-Barry said that he seconded the resolution with the utmost pleasure, because he felt that in Dr. Richard Garnett they had a representative of the literary side of linguistics. They ought never to forget that the purposes of the Association were twofold. They wished to develop modern languages from the literary side as an instrument of mental culture, and they wished at the same time to advance the teaching of modern languages as a commercial subject. He had very vivid recollections of a speech which Dr. Richard Garnett delivered on the great German lyric poet Heine. He hoped that Dr. Garnett in his leisure would continue to charm them by some essays on the subject of German literature.

The motion was carried unanimously.

The President—I thank you very sincerely and cordially for the vote of thanks which you are pleased to pass, and I assure you that I feel that my obligations to you are greater than yours to me.

Simplification of French Syntax.

The President said that the next subject on the programme was the consideration of the following resolution which stood in the name of **Mr. H. W. Atkinson**, Rossall School:—'That the simplifications of French Syntax included in the Edict of the French Minister of Education, July 31st, 1900, should be admitted in English schools and examinations, and that they should be taught concurrently with the existing orthography.' He was sorry that Mr. Atkinson was prevented by indisposi-

tiou from being present; but in his absence his paper introducing the resolution would be read by the Honorary Secretary.

Mr. Lipscomb said that Mr. Atkinson had been forbidden by his doctor to come to the meetings, and therefore he had sent his speech with a request that he would read it. It was as follows:—

'*Resolution by Harold W. Atkinson on the Simplification of French Syntax.*

'Mr. President, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—When I sent in to the Honorary Secretary the wording of my resolution, there were doubts in the air as to how far we in England would be justified in taking up and teaching the *Tolérances* of M. Leygues. The reason of this attitude of doubt lay largely in the fact that the Académie Française seemed likely to oppose the changes, and that possibly, or, as some thought, probably, a new Minister would rescind the ediet.

'It had been, then, my intention to discuss the reasons pro and con, to raise the question whether it were worth our while to wait till the Academy accepted, or even expressed an opinion on the matter, or whether we should at once take up what, at any rate, for a time, would be conditions that would hold for public examinations in France.

'I had intended to cite views on either side from Englishmen and foreigners, notably from two articles that have appeared in the November and December issues of the *Neuere Sprachen*.

'Now, however, all these things are unnecessary. Nothing remains but to carry unanimously a rather different form of the resolution, a form necessitated by the most recent phase of the question. The Academy has accepted 85 per cent. of the *Tolérances*, and the Academy and the "Conseil Supérieur de l'Instruction publique" have come to an agreement, and in about a week from now (January 3) will appear an *Arrêté définitif*. These new *Tolérances* will then be *officielles* in France before another month has passed. This information I have from Professor Brunot of Paris.'

[Here the Honorary Secretary read the following letter from Professor Brunot to Mr. Atkinson, and translations of two extracts from *Le Temps*.]

'4 Avenue d'Orléans,
27 *décembre*.

'Monsieur,—Ma réponse est courte et simple. L'Académie a senti qu'elle ne pouvait pas entrer en lutte avec l'État, représenté par le Ministère. Elle a donc accepté d'emblée 85 % des réformes. On s'est mis d'accord et le Conseil Supérieur de l'Instruction publique vient d'en délibérer á nouveau. Il consent à l'Académie quelques concessions. Le reste est accepté et reconnu. D'ici à une quinzaine paraîtra un arrêté définitif. Vous pourrez donc enseigner les nouvelles tolérances. Elles seront officielles en France avant un mois.

. . . . . .

'Recevez, Monsieur, mes sentiments les plus distingués. A. Brunot.'

'*Extract from* Le Temps, *December* 29.

'In its session last July the Conseil Supérieur de l'Instruction publique had, on M. Clairin's report, adopted a scheme for the simplification of French syntax. This scheme, sanctioned by a Ministerial decree, dated August 1, gave a list of concessions which should no longer be counted as mistakes in examinations.

'By a perfectly natural courtesy, notice of the proposed reform was sent to the French Academy, and M. Georges Leygues, the Minister of Public Instruction, had been careful to send it M. Clairin's report before the July session of the Conseil Supérieur, and to ask for its opinion. The Academy, while accepting most of the reforms, made certain reservations. After a report had been presented by M. Hanotaux, it asked the Minister to sanction only those points on which the Conseil Supérieur and the Academy were in accord.

'M. Georges Leygues again brought up the question before the Conseil Supérieur in the present session, and urged that the Academy and the Conseil Supérieur should come to an understanding, for reforms carried with the support of these two authorities would, of course, be accepted without demur.

'By M. Belot's report it has been decided that the Council acknowledged the opinion expressed by the Academy, and that the modifications which had obtained its consent should be accepted as final. Consequently the Minister will have the resolutions which have been passed by common accord carried into effect. Those on which there is a difference of opinion will be kept back for the time being.

'The Council has further expressed a desire that a joint Commission, composed of members of the Academy and of the Conseil Supérieur, should consider the points on which no agreement has been

come to, and, if need be, the questions which would thereby arise, in order to arrive at fresh proposals acceptable to both.'

'*Extract from* Le Temps (*Evening Edition*), *December* 28.

'At its meeting to-day the Academy was informed of the decision arrived at by the Conseil Supérieur de l'Instruction publique on the question of the syntax of the French Language.

'There was perfect agreement on most of the proposed reforms, and the Academy has decided to publish its report on the question very soon.

'It may be added that according to the report the Secretary was desired to express the thanks of the Committee to the Minister of Public Instruction for having rendered this agreement so easy.'

'The examining bodies that have declined to accept the changes until they had been discussed by the Academy will now necessarily accept them.

'We must, however, retain in our grammars for a long time to come the old rules and grammatical forms, so that the texts read may be intelligible. These cannot all at once be reproduced in a new garb, even if it were desirable. The difficulties of composition as far as concerns certain grammatical minutiæ will be much simplified. It is always easier to recognise that such and such constructions are correct when they are met with in an author, and also in their contexts, to appreciate the differences of meaning that they may convey. It is another thing to remember to use them correctly. This is the part of the work that will be saved to our pupils. More persons can read and appreciate eleventh-century French than would be prepared to write it. So will it be with our pupils. In *upper classes* there would probably be no harm in requiring the pupils to use the orthography hitherto current, and indeed still current, in their written work.

'One thing seems certain, we must all have the *Tolérances* at our fingers' ends by the commencement of next term. We must have the passages in the current grammars marked with the alterations now permitted. Some authors of grammars have already notified either by advertisement or otherwise the passages in their books that are affected. These will require slight modifications now, as apparently some of the changes have been dropped again.

'With the permission of the meeting I should prefer that my resolution run as follows:—

'"That the Simplications in French Syntax approved by the Minister of Public Instruction and by the Academy in the Edict of January 1901 be accepted and at once introduced into the teaching of French in England."'

The President said that the reading of Mr. Atkinson's paper with the resolution might be taken as equivalent to the moving of the resolution.

The Rev. Dr. Macgowan said that he would like to second the resolution if nobody else would do so. There were many of the regulations which he did not personally like, more especially those relating to the past participle. But with that exception he did not think that there was anything to object to; and the proposals certainly made the matter easier from a commercial point of view; and they would be a great gain in the teaching of the French language.

Mr. Eve said that they were asked to express their opinion on a question on the strength of imperfect knowledge of the decision to which the French authorities would come. He thought that they ought to reserve a formal expression of opinion until they knew exactly what was intended. It had been his task to go very carefully through the recommendations. He did not feel that he was qualified to criticise them from a Frenchman's point of view; but he very much doubted whether they were a simplification to an English boy or girl. Some of them no doubt would cover mistakes that an English boy might inadvertently make, and so far an examiner might fairly give the student the benefit of the change; but he should be very sorry to see English boys and girls taught on such a system. Let them be taught on what cultivated Frenchmen recognised as the orthodox form of the French language. If they fell short of accuracy, and did so in the same way as French boys and girls would fall short—which was very improbable—by all means let them have the benefit. For instance, English boys and girls constantly went wrong in their genders. There was no tolerance for that. French boys and girls would go wrong, probably, in putting an 's' at the end of a word in which English boys and girls would not be likely to do so. He might venture to quote from a short paper which he read on this subject. It was possible to write the plural of the French word 'choufleur' in eighteen different ways from the point of view of an English schoolboy. The boy might not know whether 'chou' took an 'x' or an 's,' and he might write it either with an 'x' or an 's.' Then he might or might not put an 's' at the end of 'fleur.' He might use a hyphen, or he might not use a hyphen. By the old rules one of the eighteen ways was right, but by the new rules three of them were right. On the whole it was less trouble for the student to learn the one way. He would venture to ask the meeting therefore to pass to the next subject for discussion, rather than commit themselves to what appeared to him to be a doubtful policy. This, he believed, was the proper way of proposing 'the previous question.'

Mr. Somerville supported Mr. Eve's proposal.

He thought that it would be very unwise for the Association to commit itself to such a resolution as that of Mr. Atkinson without knowing exactly what was meant by it. There was a well-known work by the speaker who had just sat down in which was given an account of a French king who wished to settle by an edict the suppression of the final 'r' in the word 'cuiller,' and the minister told the king that even he was powerless to control such a matter. It seemed to him (Mr. Somerville) that it would be unwise to pass the resolution. He believed that the question of the past participle had not been decided, and that it was one of the matters in dispute. As it was really a most important part of the new simplification, he thought that they had better wait until they knew the final decision. He would second the motion for the previous question. He thought that French people would by instinct go on as at present for many generations to come.

Mr. Meunier said that, as to the question of the past participle, it would be seen that the French grammars did not agree amongst themselves about it. He thought that the simplification would be very useful for young minds which could not possibly grasp all those shades of difference as to which the French grammarians themselves did not agree. The matter as it stood was very difficult to understand, and for his own part he was very glad to see Mr. Atkinson's resolution. The change would, he thought, greatly simplify the study of French syntax, which was a stumbling-block to the minds of children of from thirteen to sixteen years of age, and the sooner they simplified the French grammar and the French pronunciation the better it would be.

Mr. Rippmann said that it seemed to him that the radical question was whether the *Tolérances* were to be permanent or were to be only transitional. As soon as the matter was decided, the instinct of which they heard would, of course, change, and eventually every educated Frenchman would be right according to the reformed rules, and it would be quite out of the question for teachers to teach anything else. Of course they could not undertake to teach the French people how to teach their own language better than they taught it at present. The present proposals were transitional, and it was not of any very great importance for the Association to decide upon them now. He agreed with the motion for the previous question. It was evident that teachers could not teach both methods side by side according to the form of the resolution. To do so would entail an immense amount of trouble, and from the teacher's point of view it would mean nothing short of an early grave. (Laughter.)

Votes were taken in succession upon the original resolution and on the previous question. The latter was carried by a majority of votes.

Aim of Modern Language Teaching.

The **Rev. Dr. Macgowan** (Cheltenham College) moved 'That the aim of modern language teaching should be literary rather than colloquial.' He said:

'Although for the purposes of debate this resolution is somewhat concisely drawn, I do not wish any one to suppose that I underrate the value of colloquial proficiency in modern languages; still less do I wish you to imagine that the mover of the resolution "*That the Reading Book should be the Centre of Instruction in teaching a Foreign Language*" is now, after the lapse of eleven years, about to initiate a reactionary attack on what is after all another leading principle of the *Neuere Richtung*, viz. that correct articulation, pronunciation, and the power of sustaining a conversation on ordinary topics, is a matter of extreme importance for all students and teachers of foreign languages; nay more: I believe that the study of the sounds of a foreign language, preferably with the aid of phonetics, is always an absolutely essential preliminary to all modern language teaching worthy of the name, and all I want you to say by your votes to-day is, that owing to the special disadvantages under which teachers of modern languages still labour in this country, we should, when teaching them as the equivalents for the classical languages in our higher Secondary Schools or Universities, refrain from emphasising their colloquial importance or utilitarian value, because that is already universally recognised, but rather devote ourselves to the task of proving their literary value as instruments of humanistic culture: a thing which we cannot emphasise too frequently, because it is still denied by the large majority of those whose privilege it is to impart instruction in Latin and Greek. No modern language teacher need object to the emphasis laid by the great commercial public on the "technical" value of modern languages as instruments for extending trade; properly considered, that of course adds to their value, but a modern language teacher may very justly object to this becoming the *exclusive* view of the subjects which he teaches. Modern languages, like ancient languages, are instruments of formal discipline and intellectual culture; they both afford means of extending the mental horizon; but, unlike ancient languages, modern ones, while not excluding anything worth preserving in the *past*, which is of course incorporated in their literatures, enable us to sympathise with, comprehend and appreciate the great living nations of the present day. Viewed in this light the position of the modern language teacher is a noble and inspiring one. He is—as we were beautifully told by the most eloquent of our former presidents—a consul of cosmopolitan culture, an unofficial diplomatist whose business it is to promote the universal brotherhood of man.

'Not one of us, I imagine, would care to give up this noble conception of his office as a modern language teacher even in exchange for a brilliant reputation as a lecturer on phonetics, or the most widespread renown as an instructor of colloquial drill. But there is of course no reason why he should not be both; in fact it is most desirable that he should be all these things; only one seems more important than the other. By insisting therefore on the literary side of modern language teaching, I must not be taken as *excluding* the colloquial side. My object in moving this resolution, then, will have been fully attained if it goes forth to the world as the opinion of a large and representative body of modern language teachers, that they value these subjects in the *first* place for their educative value as instruments of mental discipline and humanistic culture, and only in the *second* place for their undoubted value as "technical subjects" or commercial desiderata.

'"*Whatever intellectual discipline is derivable from the languages of Athens and Rome is derivable also from the languages of Paris and Berlin.*" These words of the Bishop of Calcutta, a former president of this Association, uttered eleven years ago when he was headmaster of Harrow School, convey, I hope, in sufficiently clear and definite language the sentiments of this meeting with regard to the training derivable from the literary study of the two great modern "school languages" of our day. As Dr. Welldon has so ably pointed out, if language is—as seems very generally admitted—*the* finest instrument in existence for the training of faculty, surely the question as to whether it is to be English, French and German, or English, Latin and Greek, is not a matter of such very vital importance. Even if—for the sake of argument—we admit that the preponderance of value, *qua* formal instrument of training, inclines slightly in favour of the classical languages, the fact that modern languages have a vast utilitarian value goes far to readjust the balance in their favour. Those of us in this country who affect to think lightly of French and German should remember that Greece and Rome have no monopoly of masterpieces in literature. Some of us no doubt are better acquainted with these than we are with those of France and Germany. These countries have literatures from which we can learn much. Was it not one of the greatest men of the nineteenth century who said of a German author about whom in his day the average Englishman knew absolutely nothing: "A nobler insight than this of Goethe we in vain look for since Shakespeare passed away." Carlyle, we may take it, studied German in a literary way; his aim, though he could speak German well, was not primarily conversational at all. But I will not further elaborate this point, because I fancy we are all agreed that the aim of the modern language teacher should be literary and colloquial, though I suppose we have all known cases of colloquial proficiency in both French and German where, with the exception of a certain mental alertness inseparable from the effort of using a language not one's own, there existed scarcely any *Sprachgefühl* or literary instinct at all. It is this form of colloquialism that I deprecate.

'I shall now review, as briefly as may be, the reasons which—to quote the words used by Lord Rosebery in the course of his rectorial address to the University of Glasgow towards the end of last year—have made "our national ignorance of foreign languages not merely a byword but almost a commercial disaster" in this country. Next I shall endeavour to investigate the causes which have led, and still are leading, to this state of things, while lastly I shall inquire whether it is not possible to find some remedy for this deplorable condition of affairs.

'I. First and foremost among the reasons for the low level of attainment in foreign languages still existing in England to-day I put the subordinate position which they occupy in our school time-tables. Not nearly enough time is devoted to them. Even in *commercial* schools their value as humanistic subjects is generally overlooked, and they are classified as "technical subjects" on a level with book-keeping and typewriting. This, of course, is only true where the conversational methods so dear to the hearts of Otto, Ollendorff, Ahn and Co. are still in favour.

'On *modern sides*, though they are allowed a position of somewhat greater importance and care, and should be taught in a literary way so as to counterbalance the terrible aridity of mind produced by the study of the exact sciences, there is yet a tendency to treat them as "extra" or "subordinate" subjects, and so to organise the work of the school that very likely depends upon a boy's progress in what is almost the only language training he gets. The ideal for us to aim at is, it seems to me, to get modern languages put in a position in modern departments analogous to that

which Latin and Greek occupy in classical departments. We should not, it is true, demand from eight to ten hours a week for each of them, as is the case in Latin or Greek, because English would also have to take its proper place as a subject worthy of study; but with six hours a week to each, excellent progress, both literary and colloquial, could be made.

'II. Second, we have *the attitude of the Educational authorities* to contend with. I will only take a few illustrations. *Oxford*, after much pressure both from within and without, has instituted an Honours School in the English language and literature, but her splendid Taylorian institution scarcely meets with the support it deserves, whilst an Honours School in French and German has apparently no chance of being created for many years to come. The bogey of a "courier tripos" still seems to have the power to scare. Perhaps they are afraid of "colloquialism." *Cambridge*, on the other hand, has done much and possesses the finest Honours School of modern languages in England, in which, thanks to the untiring efforts of Professor Skeat, Dr. Breul, Mr. Browning and others, a considerable number of alterations and improvements have been effected. But yet with all this, neither University will recognise the "Modern Side" or "Modern School" boy at all. Greek was maintained as a compulsory subject for the "Little Go" at Cambridge not long ago by a majority of, I think, something like four to one; and yet classical scholars, headmasters, and politicians tell us that a man may be a refined and educated gentleman although he be utterly innocent of the beauties of the Greek grammar. In Germany, where classical scholarship is, it would appear, on quite as high a level as it is in England, Greek is not a compulsory subject in the *Abiturienten* examination, and there is thus no reason whatever why the study of Greek should be thus artificially stimulated here in England. The promising boy on the modern side of an English public school who has failed to appreciate the charms of mathematics, but who takes a keen interest in French and German, has to waste nine months to a year in getting up a modicum of Greek at a time when he would be much better employed in perfecting his knowledge of French and German. Thus, in spite of the splendid facilities Cambridge offers for the higher study of modern languages, she scarcely taps her chief source of supply—viz. the modern side of our public schools—at all, because of her burdensome and incomprehensible regulation with regard to Little Go Greek.

'Possibly owing to this regulation, and also to the fact that modern languages are seldom "class subjects," the *authorities in Secondary Schools* hesitate to let a promising modern boy read for modern languages at all, as it necessitates a great deal of rearrangement and reorganisation of his work. Moreover, the University regulations are obviously unfair, as no classical candidate is ever expected to show any knowledge whatever of French or German.

'III. Thirdly, we must class *the inadequate supply of duly qualified native teachers*. As we have seen, the great universities keep out the future modern language scholar and teacher, and the headmasters seldom allow him to be created. But I may be told that the teaching of foreign languages in England is still largely in the hands of foreign teachers, and to some extent this is so, no doubt. Still, I am credibly assured that this is becoming less true every year, and that English teachers of foreign languages are slowly replacing the foreigner: be that as it may, however, it is quite a normal thing for the teaching of modern languages to be done by natives of the country in which they teach. Dr. Kuno Meyer stated at the Cheltenham Conference of Modern Language Teachers, held nearly eleven years ago, that England was then the only country in Europe where modern language teaching was done by foreigners except under very stringent conditions. In Germany, for instance, the great bulk of modern language teaching is done by Germans, and that country is far ahead of us with regard to her citizens' knowledge of modern languages. But I do not wish to press unduly the somewhat obvious inference to be drawn from this fact, except by re-stating that here in England, despite the accurate pronunciation of their foreign teachers in the past, whose fluency in their own idiom naturally left nothing to be desired, Englishmen were then—as they are now—notoriously lacking in that very colloquial proficiency which we all hold to be a desideratum. That the science of phonetics, when once its value is more generally recognised, will do much to remedy this, I have no doubt whatever, but the facts I have adduced go far to prove that there is not *necessarily* any connection between a *foreign* teacher and the *presence* of colloquial proficiency on the one hand, and the *native* teacher and the *absence* of colloquial proficiency on the other.

'IV. As a fourth disturbing factor in the situation I would adduce the extreme *diversity of aim* which exists amongst modern language teachers at the present day. As an illustration of this fact, I need only refer to the resolution which I am now speaking to. We are singularly like the present Radical party in the House of Commons; we have no leader who can speak for every member of our body; we all desire the general good, but we desire with equal earnestness that the community, whose interests after all are those of each one of us, should have the benefit of those individual views which, in the case of some of us, have ripened into convictions. Now individualism is all very well, but like other good things it is possible to have too much of it, and in the case of modern language teachers this very diversity of view has become a source of weakness rather than of strength. The Church or the Bar would not be the professions they are, were they characterised by the absence of order, uniformity and system which still, alas, distinguish our branch of the scholastic profession. The Church has its Canon law, while they of the legal calling have their Common and Statute law. We modern language teachers in this first year of the twentieth century have neither the one nor the other. Is it too much to hope that the Modern Language Association will try to establish a canon? This could be done by forming a committee of our members, with instructions to draw up and send to every modern language teacher in England and all the more eminent on the Continent of Europe, a schedule of questions to be answered "Yes" or "No." Next by inviting all teachers to contribute their views as to system, method, etc., to the columns of the *Modern Language Quarterly*. These collective opinions might then be crystallised in the form of resolutions and submitted to general meetings of the Association. It would take time, of course, and involve a good deal of trouble and expense, but the final results could not fail to be beneficial to the subject of foreign languages in general, and to the status of those who teach them in particular. There are many questions on which our collective opinion, were it once placed before the proper authorities, would carry considerable weight. I will instance only a few: (1) Method; (2) The present examination system; (3) Scholarships; (4) Government grants; (5) The order in which languages should be learnt. But I need not further enlarge the list or enter on these vexed questions now. It will suffice if we seriously tackle the whole question, which is rapidly assuming the proportions of one of national importance. No one knows better than we do how many are the grievances we suffer, how great are the disabilities under which we labour in our conflict with vested interests. Surely at a time like this, when the whole of secondary education is about to be organised, and the air is thick with promises of reform, we modern language teachers should organise and reform too. We have done much already, but we can do far more. We must agitate and organise, organise and agitate. In this slow-moving and conservative country those are the only means by which anything can be done. If we cannot induce Her Majesty's Government to move in the matter, and perhaps offer the great governing and examination bodies a little paternal advice *re* their attitude to modern language instruction in England, let us approach Her Majesty's Opposition. They might be united on this question. Lord Rosebery at any rate takes the view that the time has now arrived for us to "reconsider part of our educational apparatus." Mr. Balfour, on the other hand, sees no probability of any change, and would scarcely think it advisable if he did see it. Let us endeavour to make him see it. Let us appoint a Parliamentary Committee to awaken and focus public opinion on this subject. "Liberal Education for the Masses" would form quite a popular cry, but no education can be truly liberal which disregards the claims of English, French, and German—in their literary aspect—to be recognised as subjects worthy of taking a foremost place in modern education.

'We were told, as far back as 1864, by the "Schools Inquiry Commission," that language was a better mental training even than natural science, but we need not emphasise that; we have no quarrel with natural science, nor, for the matter of that, with the classical languages either. All we desire is fair treatment of the subjects we teach, which, if the theory of evolution be true, can scarcely be so inferior to Latin and Greek as some would have us think. But do not let us make the mistake of emphasising their colloquial and commercial value; it does not help us in the least to get them properly recognised. Let us rather point out that modern languages claim to educate the heart, the mind, and the intellect, and that they and they only

among the "modern" subjects in the ever-increasing circle of knowledge can give us that "literary training" which Englishmen have always so highly prized.'

The **Rev. Llewellyn Bullock** said that he had been very much interested, as they all had been, in the paper read by Dr. Macgowan. Dr. Macgowan had spoken with great interest on the position of modern languages as regarded other subjects; but he had said very little with special regard to the importance of colloquial and of literary teaching in the school. He (Mr. Bullock) might be allowed to say a few words on that point. He did not propose to enter into the question of the educational value of the literary side of modern languages, for he imagined that that was almost beyond dispute. He would confine himself rather to the utilitarian point of view, and ask the Association to consider for a moment what would be the gain, and, secondly, what would be the loss which would be involved by giving up time in the school to colloquial teaching. Suppose they gave the liberal allowance of half an hour a day to purely conversational practice. That would mean three hours a week, or thirty-six hours a term, or twelve days of ten hours each in the school year. In four years, six weeks would have been devoted to very disjointed efforts to understand and utter the spoken language. His belief was that the average boy who had been intelligently taught on grammatical and literary lines during the four years would, in the course of one midsummer vacation spent with a family on the Continent where he not only heard the language but spoke it, acquire far greater and far more serviceable command of conversational power than if he had in turn puzzled and been puzzled during the six half-hours' conversations every week. They had on the side of the literary method the authority of Professor Max Müller and Professor Buchheim.

Mr. Milner-Barry moved as an amendment that the resolution should run, 'That the aim of modern language teaching should be colloquial as well as literary.' There was only one argument which he would set before the meeting. For the past few years they had been hammering away at educational bodies to give *viva voce* tests and to improve the style of their examinations. If they passed the resolution which had been so ably moved by Dr. Macgowan, they would stultify themselves and show the public at large that they were not at unity within their own doors.

The **Rev. Dr. Macgowan**—May I say that I accept that amendment absolutely and entirely.

Mr. Siepmann asked whether Dr. Macgowan would give his amendment another form and make it more definite, putting it thus: 'That the chief aim of modern language teaching should be, in the early stages, the spoken language; next, grammatical accuracy; in the final stage, literary; and, at all stages, mental training.

The **Rev. Dr. Macgowan** said that he must refuse to accept Mr. Siepmann's suggestion as an improvement on the resolution, because it was embodied entirely in what Mr. Milner-Barry had put before them. Moreover, it was so long that it would not be acceptable to the general public, for whom they were chiefly working. Mr. Siepmann's proposal might be very well for the Association, but the simplicity of Mr. Milner-Barry's amendment would commend itself to the public, and on that ground he accepted it.

Mr. Rippmann said that when he first read the original resolution it seemed to him to imply that there was opposition between the colloquial and the literary. The difference between the older teaching, which practically confined education to the literary side, was that the older teaching was literary and that the new teaching was colloquial and literary. People often made the mistake of thinking that the reformers attached importance only to colloquial teaching and had the idea that grammar was too long and life was too short for anything beyond uttering the sounds as correctly as possible. He did not think that any of the leaders of the reformed mode would accept that view. It seemed to him utterly unfair to bring against the reformed mode the charge of neglecting the literary side of modern language teaching. But he was quite sure that it was of immense value to attach importance to a spoken language in the early stage of teaching, and to make the child familiar with simple words, paying attention not merely to the acquisition of the sounds, but also to a simple vocabulary. That was a point which had been neglected in their first French and German books. The child should have words given to him and be made familiar with them, so that he could not only recognise them when he saw them, but also have the words on the tip of his tongue. Such a groundwork of vocabulary was essential to a literary study of a language. From such a groundwork there

would be, as he maintained, a perfectly natural progress to the literary appreciation of the language. It seemed to him that, when they were dealing with a child of nine or ten, it would be unreasonable to expect anything like literary appreciation. They had to deal with children of that age, and it was desirable to interest them, for the things which interested them they would like. The thing was obvious. They would be interested in being told about French children, and so on, and they would be prepared for the literature without any direct attempt at literary teaching. Another thing which would interest them was the differences of pronunciation between the languages, particularly if they happened to have been taught their own mother tongue in something like a reasonable way. For these reasons he felt very strongly against any attempt to divide teaching between literary teaching and colloquial teaching. Colloquial teaching was sometimes described as utilitarian. The word utilitarian was only another word for useful, and he would ask, Why should a study be undervalued because it was useful? What they must convince people of was that a colloquial and conversational basis and the use of the spoken language in the early stages were a good preparation for literary teaching. He supported the modification which had been proposed by Mr. Milner-Barry and accepted by the mover of the resolution.

The resolution was then seconded, and the speaker agreed that at an early stage the teaching should be colloquial. The more children were interested in a language at the early period of the teaching, the better. He thought that it would be a great mistake to make the teaching too literary at an early stage, but a child should be taught to express himself from the very first.

Dr. Abrahams urged that, if a literary knowledge of a language was to be obtained, the child must first have a colloquial and a practical knowledge of the language. It had been proved for some years that it was quite possible to give a student a practical knowledge of a language in a very short time by means of what was called the Gouin method. He thought that if any amendment was passed it ought to contain the words 'a practical knowledge.' The practical method was the quickest way of learning a language and of becoming proficient in it. They should give a practical knowledge of a language first, and let the literary knowledge follow.

Mr. Siepmann said that their object was to give an expression of their opinion as regarded the aim of modern language teaching, and they ought not to divide into various camps, some advocating colloquial teaching and some advocating literary teaching. He believed that they really all agreed that modern language teaching, as well as the teaching of all other subjects, must at all stages involve mental training if it was to be admitted as a subject of a liberal education. With regard to modern languages especially, they wanted to deal with the spoken language; but, on the other hand, they did not want to discard grammatical accuracy or to do away with interest in literature. He thought that the four points which he had brought forward should be embodied in the resolution.

Mr. Eve said that he was present at the committee when this subject was discussed as one to be brought before the meeting. He thought that the idea present in their minds then was that, while they were in full sympathy with the work of the reformers, they wanted to emphasise the fact that the literary side of the teaching should not be forgotten. He would like to propose 'That every effort should be made to maintain the scholarly and literary side of modern language teaching, as well as the practical side.' He thought that that would probably convey the idea which was in their minds a little better than simply coupling the words 'colloquial' and 'literary.'

Dr. Rushton Parker said that he was not a teacher, and he was in a certain sense an outsider, but it seemed to him that the most important thing was to study the means by which the aim which they had in view was to be attained. He understood from many of the speakers that the easiest way of doing what they had in view was to teach the language colloquially. Surely literature would take care of itself. Some of the persons who learned a language colloquially would go on to literature. It seemed to him that the easiest way of teaching foreign languages was to teach them colloquially. Some persons would not fail to go on to the literary study of the language, but surely the groundwork must be colloquial. He did not think that the colloquial teaching must be taken for granted, nor did he think that sufficient care had been taken to secure it.

The Rev. Dr. Macgowan said that he was entirely in sympathy with Mr. Siepmann's resolution, but he thought that it had the

fault of being too long. If they passed a resolution containing a long learned disquisition on how they were to teach, the public would not at all grasp what the Association were at. He deprecated strongly the suggestion that the members were divided into two camps. There were no two camps. He was entirely in favour of the change in the resolution which had been proposed by Mr. Milner-Barry. He thought that the meeting would accept the motion as it now stood. They all agreed that they wanted both colloquial training and literary training. They believed in both. He hoped that Mr. Eve would reconsider his motion and withdraw it.

Mr. Siepmann agreed that the members of the Association were at one with regard to the aim of modern language teaching, and he did not think that they were really in two camps. He should like to withdraw his amendment in favour of Mr. Eve's. The latter put his (Mr. Siepmann's) point, namely, the practical side of teaching. That point was omitted in the original proposition.

The **Rev. Dr. Macgowan** said that he would accept the resolution which had been proposed by Mr. Eve.

Mr. Somerville said that he observed with great pleasure that the mover had accepted Mr. Eve's resolution, for that resolution expressed what they all felt. What Dr. Macgowan had wished to emphasise was that the teaching of modern languages should be made the means of teaching boys and girls to think, and of fitting them to go to a university in such a condition that they would be able to receive the full benefit of a university training. The time was ripe for the Association to make a move in that direction.—The speaker then read from the *Times* of that day a letter from a very distinguished teacher bearing upon this subject. He added that there was one practical matter to which the Association might direct itself contained in something which had been touched upon by the President in his address. That was an endeavour to induce Cambridge to drop the Greek subjects in the Little Go. If he was not out of order, he would refer to another matter which had been touched upon by the President, namely, the possibility of County Councils combining with Chambers of Commerce in providing travelling scholarships. This Association might effect a very practical reform by trying to induce those bodies to co-operate in that matter.

Mr. Storr said that he agreed that there were not two camps, but some of them emphasised one point more than the other. A venerable teacher whom Mr. Eve and he used to know boasted that he did not want any new book, for he had found during his thirty years' teaching that he never wanted anything more than *Le Roi des Montagnes*. They all agreed that in the early stages the teaching ought to be almost all *vivâ voce*, and what they wanted to give the students in the later stages was the power to read literature for themselves.

The amendment proposed by Mr. Eve was then put as a substantive motion and carried unanimously, namely, 'That every effort should be made to maintain the scholarly and literary side of modern language teaching, as well as the practical side.'

Mr. Siepmann said that he wished to correct the statement made by Dr. Macgowan in moving the original resolution, that in the German classical side Greek was not compulsory.

The proceedings were then adjourned until the next morning.

Reception.

A Reception took place at the Royal Institution, Colquitt Street, Liverpool, on Thursday evening, January 2nd, the members of the Association having been invited to meet members of the following societies:—The Literary and Philosophical Society, the Philomathic Society, the Société Littéraire Française, the German Club, the Italian Literary Society, and the Alliance Française de Liverpool.

The guests were received by Mr. E. K. Muspratt, Member of the Council, and Miss Muspratt. During the evening an excellent musical programme was rendered by Mr. H. Glynn Wylie (pianoforte) and Mr. E. A. Garrod. Addresses were given in the Inner Reception Room by Prof. Skeat and Dr. R. Garnett, and a lecture by Prof. Paul Barbier on 'Le Pays de Galles et les Gallois' was greatly enjoyed by a large audience in the Lecture Theatre.

The **Rev. Professor Skeat** said: 'It gives me much pleasure to be present at yet another meeting of the Modern Language Association, and to remember that I am in the proud position of having been formerly your President; so that, so to speak, I can

claim the honour of having passed the chair.

'I have been asked to say a few words on this occasion, by way of a short address; and, in consideration of my former position among you, and of the fact that I have acquired some experience as a teacher, I am going to take upon myself to offer, in all humility, a little friendly advice. I am afraid there is no novelty about it, and I shall only, I suppose, repeat opinions that must have been given many times in the past; at the same time, I make no apology for dilating upon a practical suggestion or two such as ordinary experience is wont to dictate. If I were to be asked what is one of the primary qualifications for a teacher, I should of course reply, to interest his pupils. To gain the ear and the attention of those who come for instruction seems to me to be the successful teacher's primary and legitimate object. And this leads me on to consider the next question, relative to the teacher himself, viz.: How is he also to keep his own interest in his subject alive, and to prevent the continual repetition of elementary facts from becoming a mere matter of routine? By way of some sort of answer to this question, I propose, without apology, to give you, briefly, some of my own experiences.

'Speaking then from my own experience, I should say that the chief, if not the only way of keeping one's interest in a subject always fresh and keen, is to omit no opportunity of learning some new thing; seldom letting a day pass without acquiring some piece of information which one did not know before. Speaking for myself, I can say that I have never found such endeavour to be irksome, but quite the contrary. Many have said to me, How do you get through so much work, and how do you find time for it? And then I have to explain that work, when done with a will, almost ceases to be work at all, and partakes very much more of the nature of play.

'All my books have afforded me a constant and unfailing source of continual pleasure; simply because there has always been something to find out. Most of our older English texts abound with peculiar and unusual constructions, with frequent allusions to contemporary customs or events, and with words of which the history is imperfectly known, and of which the sense is often far from being obvious. There is always something to be done. If notes are to be made that will really illuminate the matter, it is necessary to search rather widely the works of authors of the same and of earlier periods. If words have to be explained, it constantly happens that the glossaries and other such helps partially or wholly fail; and then the only method that is of any practical use is to read other authors till the unknown word recurs in a new context, or to search the dictionaries of cognate languages. The result of such work—so called—is that one lives in a state of always wanting to know, in a life full of pleasurable surprises whenever the desired piece of information turns up, as it frequently does, in a most sudden and unexpected manner, from a source perhaps that seemed by no means promising.

'Now, of course, I know very well that most of those who hear me think that I seem to be drifting away into advice that is quite impracticable. The ready objection rises to your lips at once, that you cannot all expect to have time for editing books. But my answer is quite direct, viz. that, whatever your work may be, the principle is the same.

'An editor of a text has to consider it critically for himself, and to make the best he can of it; and my contention is that every reader of a text should strive to adopt the same position. If an editor merely copies notes from his predecessors, he does not advance the knowledge of his subject; and it would often be better, in my opinion, if such mere compilers of books for sale would let the poor authors alone. And in like manner, a reader should make a subject his own by the exercise of independent judgment, and should verify every statement for himself as far as opportunity serves. He should adopt an editorial attitude, and compare the statements which he finds in the notes with such facts as are within his own experience. By an editorial attitude, I mean something very different from that critical attitude which is so constantly and so undeservedly cried up, especially by unthinking and hasty journalists. By a critical attitude is often meant that the reader sits in judgment upon the unfortunate author or upon the honest editor, hoping to catch him tripping and to expose his ignorance, and continually aiming at self-glorification rather than self-improvement. This attitude seems to me most unwise, and often leads to self-praise founded on nothing but ignorance; for it often happens that the supposed blunder is no blunder at all, but rather a proof of the editor's superior experience; and then the honest reader has to admit to himself that he had better climb down at once. The reader should rather, as I have said, assume an editorial attitude;

that is to say, a responsible one. He should be thoroughly impressed with the feeling that, wherever he differs from the editor, he will have to make good his case and to prove it to the satisfaction of competent judges. This, in fact, is precisely where so many critics fail, especially such as are most pretentious; they lay down the law as to such or such statements being wrong, without vouchsafing a single word of proof; or they make counter-statements that really rest upon no foundation whatever. This is not the attitude of a true scholar. What we want to come at are the true facts of the case, without reference to unworthy squabbles as to what particular person is in the right.

'And now to come down to a real and tangible instance, which is in the power of every one of you, at any rate on some occasions, if you ever have any leisure, or ever reserve any time for self-improvement at all—to come, I say, to a particular instance, you can all learn the art of verifying references. This is my chief word of advice to every teacher. If you wish to make a text your own, if you wish to have any sort of right to give any opinions with regard to it, the least you can do is to verify your references. For this purpose, every one should endeavour to be near some good library; and even if you have access only to a select number of volumes of your own, you can still verify *some* of the references, to a limited extent. I can assure you that this is the easiest and best way of learning to be a scholar, and therefore of qualifying yourself for being a teacher. But I have a special reason, even beyond this, for giving this advice. For it is the way to gain a true interest in the subject you are teaching; and it is the way to open your eyes—perhaps to open them very widely indeed. Scholarship is like natural history; it is a question of having eyes or having no eyes. If you have no eyes, you will not make much either of natural history or of scholarship. Moreover, the particular eyesight of which I am now speaking is a thing that can be acquired; and it can be acquired and trained, at any rate to an elementary extent, by the simple process of looking to see, when a reference is given you, whether the thing which is asserted is really so.

'This, in fact, is where the interest comes in. To one who has never yet tried it, such advice seems to be the stupidest and the dullest imaginable; and perhaps the most useless. But the man who tries it soon learns to know better. For the results are often so wholly surprising, so novel, so sensational, that any one who honestly tries to follow up to their sources only a few items of information, will soon be caught by the excitement of it, and will soon learn to do by choice and out of pure pleasure what he began to do out of duty or curiosity.

'In the first place, the reference may be wrong; and we are then introduced at once to all the pleasures of the chase. It often happens that the number of the page is correct, but the volume is wrong; a matter which is easily put right. Or else the number of the page is misprinted, so that 292 may mean 229, or 229 may mean 299, or some similar arithmetical puzzle is presented, the solution of which is at least as interesting as the solution of an acrostic. Or perhaps there are more editions than one; and then you acquire a knowledge of that fact. Or again, when you have found the passage meant, you discover to your surprise that the author cited says something quite different from what he has been alleged to say. Or perhaps he does not speak out of his own knowledge, but merely copies from somebody else; and then the chase begins again, and you are impelled to look up that somebody else. I can assure those who have never yet tried this sport that there is much to be learnt by it; which is precisely why it is worth trying. When once you begin hunting up things for yourself after this fashion, you will soon cease to wonder at finding yourself landed in some very unexpected position; for you never can be sure beforehand as to what may come of it. You will certainly thus learn the names of many books and authors, and will learn to distinguish between one edition and another; the chief gain being that which I have already indicated, that your interest remains always fresh and keen, and you know, moreover, precisely where you are and how you stand. Another great point about this kind of work is that there is never any end to it; which, rightly considered, is a great advantage.

'It often happens, of course, that it is quite inconvenient, perhaps impossible, to verify some particular statement at the moment; and in such a case I know of no better method than to make a note, either a written or a mental note, of the precise point which seems doubtful or insufficiently supported. I have done this myself in hundreds of cases; and I constantly find myself in possession of a large number of doubtful or imperfectly explained facts, all

of which cry out for further information. And what happens then? The result is often marvellous. You consult a new book or fresh authority for some totally different purpose, and you light, as if it were by accident, on the very information which you want. I used at first to feel as if there were something uncanny about this, especially if it happened perhaps twice in a day; but I have long since accepted it as being a likely thing to happen. For indeed there is not much mystery about it. The mind that is on the alert is full of eyes to see, and pounces unerringly on the desired object. One ought not to call this work; it is all pleasure and play.

'It is clear to me that the true teacher is necessarily an optimist. He must believe that all good seed, well and truly sown, will bring forth fruit a hundredfold. He must believe in his work, however humble, and exercise it in a cheery, trusting, unconquerable, and enthusiastic spirit. He must be always living and learning, and bringing forth, out of his well-stored treasure-house, new things as well as old. The attempt to get to the bottom of things will teach him the grand old lesson of humility. Perceiving what limitless oceans of knowledge stretch out beyond all power of sight, he will be the more careful and exact in sifting the few grains of fact which lie immediately before him. Perhaps he may thus not teach much in point of quantity, but what he teaches will be excellent in quality; and his pupils will have the less to unlearn.

'I could give a large number of examples, within my own experience, to prove to the full the truth of my contention, that new things are always presenting themselves to those that seek. I do not mean things of much importance; indeed, I mean nothing less. Many of these things are, in themselves, very slight, very small, and to all unthinking minds quite insignificant; but remember that a doubt is seldom so small as not to be worth solving. The scholar is one who is accurate in trifles; and the good teacher is one who is sure of his ground.

'Before I conclude, I will give just one instance of what I mean by verifying quotations; not because it is of much consequence, but because it is almost the last one I came across, and is still fresh in my mind. As it so happens that the field of language extends to everything that occupies human thought, the student of language regards nothing as alien. And thus it was that I came lately to consider the word *taw*, which now usually means a kind of marble, but was formerly applied rather to a particular game. In this sense it is used in the *Tatler*, Dec. 27, 1709; and in a poem by Churchill. I also found a quotation in Johnson's Dictionary, who defines *taw* as 'a marble to play with,' and immediately quotes a few lines in which it clearly means a game:

> "Trembling I've seen thee
> Mix with the children as they play'd at *taw*;
> Nor fear the marbles as they bounding flew,
> Marbles to them, but rolling rocks to you."

The quotation is said to be from Swift. Happening to have a copy of Swift's works in one of the volumes of Chalmers' *English Poets*, I looked for this in Swift, but wholly failed to find it. A friend of mine who was aware of my difficulty actually took the trouble, being a true scholar, to try to solve the mystery; and he consulted another friend, who declared the lines to have been written by Pope, and actually gave the reference to the Globe edition of Pope, p. 492, the title of the poem being "The Lamentation of Glumdalclitch."

'The only edition of Pope which I possess is one by Cary, and I could find in it no such poem. Thinking this somewhat strange, I looked for "The Lamentation of Glumdalclitch" in the index to Chalmers' *Poets*, and the result was a reference to vol. x. p. 494, where the whole poem is given, sure enough; but it is there attributed to Gay, and is followed by a Lilliputian Ode. Seeing that both these poems are founded on *Gulliver's Travels*, it is easy to perceive how they were mistakenly ascribed to Swift.

'Moreover, Chalmers has a note to this effect: "In Faulkner's edition this poem is ascribed to Pope, and the Lilliputian Ode to Arbuthnot." The authorship therefore lies between Pope and Gay; the one certain fact being that it was not written by Swift.

'Even this is not the end of the story; for if we turn to the beginning of Gay's works as printed by Chalmers, we find that the sole preface consists of a Life of Gay, by Dr. Johnson; and just at the very end of this Life is this singular remark: "Those (of his poems) that please least are the pieces to which Gulliver gave occasion; for who can much delight in the echo of unnatural fiction?' We have here positive proof that, in Johnson's opinion, these lines were written by Gay; and his attribution of them to Swift was a mere oversight. We thus establish this astonishing conclusion, and all by mere dint of verifying our references, that the very man, Dr. Johnson, who refers us to Swift is our clearest wit-

ness to the fact that the lines which he quotes were written by some one else; and that, in his belief, that somebody else was the poet Gay. And I do not doubt that, before long, the evidence obtainable as to this point will be quite conclusive.

'And therefore it is that I recur to my advice—to all whom it may concern—just to try in all sincerity to play the game of hunting up references that are given for the purpose of establishing supposed facts; and you will find that all the pleasures of the chase are yours—for the rest of your life.'

The President (Dr. Garnett) also addressed the company. He said that he had been asked by the Society for Promoting Italian Study in Liverpool to say a few words on the subject of the Italian language and literature. He supposed that the invitation had originated from the fact of his being the author of a small manual on Italian Literature. He felt no difficulty in replying to the invitation, for it gave him an opportunity of expressing the obligation under which he lay personally to Italian literature. It was doubtful whether, had it not been for Italian literature, he should have occupied the position which he had had the honour to fill in the British Museum. There was in former times a most eminent citizen in Liverpool who bestowed great honour and distinction upon his native city, and who was specially eminent for his knowledge of Italian literature and for the works in which he imparted that knowledge to his countrymen. He need not say that he referred to William Roscoe. William Roscoe was recognised as the leading authority upon Italian literature in this country. And it happened that, while he was still living in Liverpool, there came to Liverpool a young Italian who had been driven as a refugee from his own country by political commotions, and who sought a livelihood as a teacher of the Italian language. The name of that young man was Antonio Panizzi. Roscoe took Panizzi by the hand, and gave him an introduction to Mr. Ugo Foscolo, whose name was always to be honoured in Italian literature. Foscolo took him by the hand, and brought him forward and introduced him to the friends and patrons which he sorely wanted, and he was ultimately the means of obtaining for him the position which he held at the British Museum. Panizzi was one of the originators of the reading-room at the Museum. Among the many things which Panizzi did, one of the smallest, no doubt, was to put him (Dr. Garnett) into the Museum. Panizzi's action was no doubt due to his (Dr. Garnett's) excellent father, who had been Panizzi's assistant in the library. If it had not been for Panizzi meeting Roscoe, he might never have occupied the position which he had, and Roscoe would never have taken the notice of Panizzi which he did take if it had not been for Italian literature. Therefore he (Dr. Garnett) felt under an obligation to Italian literature, and he was sure that he would in his humble way be conferring an obligation upon any one whom he could induce to take up the study of that subject. Italian literature at one time occupied a very much more commanding position in this country than it held now. There was a time when the Italian language was held in England to be a subject of which no educated man or lady could afford to be ignorant. They knew that Queen Elizabeth spoke Italian familiarly with the ambassadors from foreign countries. Whatever country the ambassador belonged to, he understood Italian. In consequence, no doubt, of political causes, Italian had lost that position of domination, and it would probably never hold it again. The fact of Italy having been divided into a number of small states deprived its language of its importance. If in earlier times Italy had achieved its unity and formed itself into a kingdom such as it was now, the position of Italian literature might have been very different from what it was at the present day. But it must always be remembered that the Italians were earlier than any other nation in the cultivation of elegant speech. They polished their language at an early date and taught rules which had been adopted in other tongues. It had been remarked that Chaucer, Spenser, and Milton were all under the deepest obligations to Italian literature, and, of course, Italian literature owed nothing to either Chaucer, Spenser, or Milton. The same was true with regard to the languages of the French and the Germans and of other nations of Europe. The Italian language, on account of the admirable qualities which it possessed, and its extraordinary terseness, neatness, elasticity, and breadth, took its place in diplomacy and in the work of teaching and cultivating people throughout Europe. The Italian language could not be again put into that position, and the question was what remained for Italian in competition with French and German and other things which ought to be known by

those persons who aspired to thorough culture. He should be very sorry, however, to part with the Italian language as an instrument of culture, for it seemed a more refined and cultivated language than either of its great neighbours. In the Italian language there were examples of forms of classic beauty, and of the conception and shaping of thoughts into language, which were not to be found to the same extent in the literature either of France or of Germany. We could not learn so much in the way of material information from the Italian as we could from the other languages, but in the matter of form and polish we could learn more from it. It was a very encouraging fact that those Italian writers who had nowadays attained the greatest familiarity with other countries, and travelled most beyond the limits of their own country, had been the most accurate and polished writers of their time. It seemed that, if Italy would only encourage her natural genius, she would be very fit indeed to be the guide and example of other nations in those branches of literature which in this busy age they were too prone to neglect. If this view was impressed upon the universities, the study of Italian might be more encouraged than it now was. There was one fact in the history of modern thought and in the position of Italian literature which was certainly full of encouragement, and it was one of the most remarkable facts of the present age. He alluded to the extraordinary revival of the popularity of Dante. At the beginning of the nineteenth century Dante was very little known in this country, and not perhaps known so much in his own country as he ought to have been. But times had so changed that now the difficulty was really the other way, and it seemed almost impossible to set bounds to the devotion with which the study of Dante was carried on in foreign countries and more especially in England. Whenever one came across a person who was studying Italian and was interested in the language, the desire to study Dante was almost sure to be found to be the motive power. That was a very remarkable phenomenon. He felt greatly rejoiced at the interest which was taken in Dante, but, at the same time, he felt a little jealous, because some of the persons with whom he spoke seemed to think that Dante was the beginning, the middle, and the end of Italian literature, and that Italy had not produced any other writer. That was a very great mistake. To put Dante as the only thing in Italian literature was like putting Homer as the only thing in Greek literature. He hoped, therefore, that, while the study of Dante proved to be a most powerful lever for promoting acquaintance with Italian literature, people would understand that there were other Italian authors worthy of attention. Italy excelled in her literary form, and she set an example to the rest of the earth. He hoped that Italian writers would preserve the purity of their language, and that the style and form and manner of Italian literature, which in former days had given such prominence to the Italian language, would still be observed. He thanked the audience for the attention which they had given to his remarks.

On the proposal of the Rev. J. T. Mitchell, rector of Wavertree, President of the Italian Literary Society of Liverpool, a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Dr. Garnett for his address.

Friday, *January* 4.

The proceedings were resumed at 10 o'clock.

Modern Languages and Matriculation.

The first business on the agenda was the consideration of the following resolution standing in the name of Mr. E. L. Milner-Barry (Mill Hill School): 'That one modern language should be included as a compulsory subject in every University Matriculation or Entrance Examination.'

Mr. Milner-Barry said that he would make a slight alteration in the wording of his resolution, because it had been pointed out to him by a tutor at King's, Cambridge, that the terms did not include the previous examination at Cambridge or the responsions at Oxford. His resolution would therefore be: 'That one modern language should be included as a compulsory subject in every University matriculation, entrance, or first public, examination.' This Association was an exceedingly radical body, and he would therefore venture to put before the members some remarks which appeared in this week's *Truth*. Mr. Labouchere defined examiners as being of three kinds—first, those who displayed their own knowledge and aired their own pet theories; secondly, those who tried to discover what a candidate did not know; and, thirdly, those who tried to discover what a candidate did know. He (Mr. Milner-Barry) thought that the attitude of

the teaching profession towards modern languages generally might also be divided into three heads. First, there was the attitude of their own august body, which aimed in a whole-hearted manner at the promotion of modern language studies. He would classify the members as belonging to the Romantic school. Secondly, there was the attitude of many of the upholders of modern sides in public schools, who treated modern languages as the Cinderella of the curriculum, and preached and practised science and Kein Ende. Thirdly, there was the attitude of the irreconcilables, who put cotton-wool into their ears when they scented the battle from afar, and prostrated themselves before that hoary fetish, the great mental gymnastic of Latin and Greek, and ejaculated, 'Great is Diana of the Ephesians.' Their attitude could only be compared to that of a master of a Cambridge college who some twenty years ago publicly thanked his Creator that he knew no German. Outside the profession they got the attitude of the public and the press. It had been seriously proposed in the columns of the *Times* that, as English was the language of commerce, all modern language teaching in this country should be dropped. Englishmen might just as well say that they were not successful as strategists, and therefore they should abandon the art of war, or, at any rate, engage foreign officers to show them how to conduct it. Then there was the attitude of those gentlemen who, by means of leading articles, tried to mould public opinion. A paper called *The Review of the Week* said, in its issue of the 1st December: 'We must remember that at our schools we are dealing with the British schoolboy, and it is our misfortune to deal with one whose primary fixed opinion it is that French and German masters and lessons exist for the purpose of serving as butts for ridicule, and periods for the writing of impositions, respectively.' Such a statement might have been applicable fifty years ago; but he thought that a greater libel on public schools could not be perpetrated. One of the greatest difficulties in the way of modern language reform was the existence of very conflicting elements in the schools. There were very often in one single school three distinct types, namely, the classical type, the *Real-Gymnasium*, and the *Real-Schule*; and the attempt to carry on all three under one head very often led to friction and jealousy among the various subjects. What we seemed to want in this country was a type of school, such as a German *Real-Schule*, in which the time was equally distributed between mathematics, science, English subjects, and modern languages. At the present time the modern side too often meant, first of all, science, and, secondly, the refuge of the duffers from the classical side. For reform in the matter of modern languages, they must look to the universities, as those bodies largely controlled the teaching of all schools by examination and inspection. The universities, not the Education Office, controlled secondary education in England and set the pace in the schools; and, if a modern language was introduced as a compulsory subject at the universities, the reform would react upon the schools. He found from the calendars of the various universities, that passing in a modern language was not compulsory in the first public, entrance, or matriculation, examination, in any university in Great Britain and Ireland, in the arts degrees. The only universities at which a candidate was bound to pass in a modern language were the University of London and the University of Birmingham. If the universities were to move in this matter, the effect of the change would be to raise the study of modern languages, and put it on a par with instruction in classics, mathematics, and natural sciences; next, modern language teaching throughout the country would be greatly stimulated; and, lastly, an element of culture would be added to English education. Goethe, in his conversations with Eckermann, related that, when a young Englishman called upon him, he said, 'I have been studying English so long that I feel that if I were to come to England I should be no stranger'; and at another time Goethe remarked that the acquirement of every foreign language opened up a new nature to the student. But was there any ground for supposing that the universities would take compassion and alter their curriculum? He believed that the matriculation examination of the University of London had been already taken in hand, and one of the proposals which would come before the committee which was dealing with the question was that the passing in a modern language should be compulsory. With regard to Cambridge, he had been informed by Mr. Tilley, a fellow and tutor of King's, that the making of one modern language compulsory for everybody in the Little Go was quite within the range of practical politics. He had received from Mr. Roberts, the President of Caius, a letter pointing out that

since the meeting of the Association in Cambridge, two years ago, the College had elected one of its graduates to a fellowship in modern languages, and the writer remarked, 'In this way one of the obstacles to the growth of numbers should be removed'; and then he added, 'I should not support Mr. Milner-Barry's motion without knowing what subject, if any, the adoption of it would exclude.' In moving the resolution, he did not wish to make a set at any existing subject. All that he wished to urge was the inclusion of a modern language test, because it would stimulate school teaching. Two years ago at Cambridge, they made an appeal to the educational bodies to introduce a *vivâ voce* examination, and certain reforms in that direction had been introduced at Oxford and Cambridge. All that the present resolution asked was that modern languages should be placed on a par with general elementary science, with Paley's *Evidences*, with physiography, and with Latin unseen evolved by the aid of a dictionary.

Mr. Rippmann seconded the motion.

Professor Skeat said that he was altogether in favour of the proposal; but it was desirable that the change should be made as easy as possible for the universities, and for that reason it might be well to propose modern languages as an alternative for Greek or Sanskrit or something of that kind. In the University of Cambridge, there were natives of India who might not know anything about modern European languages except English, and he believed that those persons were allowed to pass in Sanskrit as an alternative for Greek. He thought that, if words proposing the modern language as the alternative for Greek or Sanskrit were added to the resolution, the change would be much more likely to be accepted. He did not think that the reform would have much chance of passing in the shape proposed in the resolution. He spoke as one who was a little behind the scenes, and he knew how strong was the feeling that Greek was respectable and that modern languages were not.

Dr. Dale said that in former examinations the natives of India had not taken Sanskrit in any shape or form. They had to take three papers in English. The difficulty which Professor Skeat had pointed out with regard to the natives of India would be a serious obstacle in the way of bringing about the change.

Mr. Moore Smith asked whether 'one modern language' might not be taken to include a modern Indian language.

Professor Skeat said that he did not think that the words would be so understood.

Mr. Moore Smith said that it appeared to him that Mr. Milner-Barry had been trying to avoid the question of Greek, which was a very dangerous question, and had caused great controversy. It seemed to him that Cambridge would be more likely to add a modern language if there was no mention of its being an alternative for Greek.

Mr. Milner-Barry said that he had certainly wished to avoid reopening the Greek question or making any attack upon Greek.

The **Rev. Llewellyn Bullock** said that he thought that it would be well to leave out the word 'compulsory.' The word seemed to be objectionable from the point of view which Professor Skeat had put before them.

Professor Skeat said that he wanted the word 'compulsory' to stand; but he would make it an alternative. He thought that that would be the only way in which the alteration could be got through. Then some men would pass in Greek, and some in a modern language. This would bring in the thin end of the wedge, and would be a very great advance.

The President—I take it you would exempt those who took Greek from a modern language.

Professor Skeat—Yes, I would for the present.

The President—Those are the very sort of people we want to get.

Dr. Dale said that the Association ought to understand thoroughly what they were doing. The suggested amendment did reopen the great Greek question, whether they wished to reopen it or not. They would never be able to secure the change until they faced the Greek question and stated definitely what was their mind in this matter. If an alternative was proposed in the pass examination, the subject for which the alternative was suggested must be clearly stated. Secondly, the difficulty of adding an independent new subject was much greater than some of the members recognised. The principle of the pass examination was that failure in one subject meant failure in all. The introduction of a new subject increased in a serious way the load which all the candidates had to carry, and raised the standard to which they had to attain. In his opinion it would be much more politic to say definitely that French or German or some other modern language should be allowed as a substitute for one of the classical languages. One of the previous speakers had implied, if not actually stated, that

elementary science was included as a compulsory subject in the previous examination at Cambridge.

Mr. Milner-Barry said that he was referring to the University of London.

Dr. Dale was much obliged to Mr. Milner-Barry for his explanation. Cambridge, in spite of the great importance which it attached to elementary science, did not include elementary science as a compulsory subject in its previous examination. With regard to the use of a dictionary, he, as a teacher, was by no means clear that it was not really a great gain to a student to have to pass in a subject which he could not be expected to translate without the aid of a dictionary, because what the student would have to do afterwards would be to read a large number of books the words of which were not confined to his own vocabulary, but required the help of a good lexicon. He imagined that one of the great aims in suggesting that a modern language should be made a compulsory subject was to open up the languages of Europe to students who were not specialists, and he believed that the kind of test which was now applied in the case of unprepared Latin, for which a dictionary was allowed, would be found to be equally helpful in the case of modern languages.

Professor Skeat said that Mr. Milner-Barry had said that he wished to avoid reference to the question of Greek, but it so happened that he was raising the question in the form which would produce the greatest amount of friction. If the resolution said that a modern language was to be a compulsory subject, it would be taken to mean an extra compulsory subject, and therefore he joined issue from the point of view of the unfortunate candidate. They had always had to meet that difficulty at Cambridge. When a new subject came forward it was put as a extra one. Hardly anybody would look at the position of the unfortunate undergraduate. When things were added in one direction something should be subtracted in another. He believed that the only chance of making a compulsory modern language acceptable to the university would be to make an alternative for a classical subject. Perhaps it would be better to put it in that form than to say that it was to be an alternative for Greek; but they all knew what was meant. Unless they put the modern language as an alternative for a classical language the proposal would have a most aggressive form. He would move as an amendment that the compulsory modern language be proposed as an alternative.

Mr. Storr seconded the amendment. He felt strongly with Principal Dale that they could not shuffle out of a clear expression of their opinion. His friend Mr. Gerrans had informed him of a very significant fact. At the last of the preliminary examinations at Oxford, sixty per cent. of the candidates had been plucked, and not plucked in mathematics but in languages. He did not think that the University authorities, with such an experience before them, would consent to add another subject. He had always felt that the London University matriculation, good as were the intentions of the founders, had signally failed because the multiplicity of subjects prevented them from exacting a very high standard. Certainly he should say that the classic languages standard was not high. He knew one candidate who passed in Greek after four months' study, not having known the alphabet at the beginning of that period. Still the standard, low as it was, would have to be still more lowered if a modern language was insisted on as an addition. The modern side of a public school felt the stimulus which would be given by the inclusion of a modern language in the university examinations. At present the whole stimulus was given to the classical side. He had seconded the amendment because he thought that the making of a modern language an alternative was as much as they could reasonably ask of the universities. The change had been once or twice very near to passing. He did not know why the Greek question should not be raised again.

Mr. Milner-Barry said that after what had fallen from Principal Dale and Professor Skeat he should be very pleased to accept the amendment. He should not like it to be thought that he was advocating the retention of Greek. He thought that if Greek were abolished on the modern side they would have a far better chance.

Mr. Siepmann said that it might be thought from the resolution that the modern language was to be a substitute for Latin.

Professor Skeat said that it was a mere matter of wording. Everybody would know what was meant.

Mr. Eve said that he hoped that Professor Skeat would retain his nomenclature. Greek was more worth studying than Latin.

Mr. T. Snape wished to speak from the point of view of a Philistine. He was sorry that Mr. Milner-Barry had run away from his colours, and he was sorry to differ from Principal Dale. In these commercial and practical times a stimulus

ought to be given to the study of modern languages. It had been his duty to preside over the committee which had for eleven years taken in hand the technical instruction of that great county, and he had arrived at the conviction that if England was to maintain her position among her industrial competitors, the English people must give greater and still greater attention to the study of modern languages. He had thought that those persons who were such strong advocates for the study of the classics failed to realise that the same refining educational influence and the same intellectual development could be obtained from the study of the language and literature of living nations as could be obtained from the study of the language and the literature of nations that were dead and belonged to the past. This view might appear very outrageous to the audience, but it had been forced upon him as a practical question which would have to be dealt with. He took it that they all wanted to see the nation develop in its material interests as well as in its intellectual interests, and he believed that both objects could be obtained by the study of modern languages as well as or better than by giving so much prominence and attention to the study of the classics.

Professor Skeat said that he must really say a word in defence of the poor universities. He understood a university to be a body which encouraged the study of all subjects. If it was true that the study of modern languages was important, it was also true that the study of Greek was important. They must not lose sight of the importance of either subject. The idea of a university was a catholic idea, and it must not encourage one subject at the expense of another, though it might give an alternative. They wished to encourage modern languages, but he believed that they could only be taken as an alternative. He did not think that it was fair to say that modern languages were more worth studying than Greek, or that Greek was more worth studying than modern languages, or that science was more important than either. They did not want to set one against another; but they must encourage them all.

The resolution, with Professor Skeat's amendment embodied, was then carried unanimously.

Vivâ Voce Test.

Mr. T. Demant (Newcastle-on-Tyne) moved 'That no examination in modern languages, especially those of a commercial nature, can be considered satisfactory that does not include a *vivâ voce* test apart from dictation.' This was slightly different from the form of resolution which appeared in the programme, the words 'especially those of a commercial nature' being additional. This was an old subject, and had been brought before the Association more than once, and as late as the last annual meeting a resolution not dissimilar in form to the present was carried. The matter was, he was sure, one upon which they each and all felt very strongly. They probably all knew how the degree of doctor in China was obtained. The candidate was put into a room by himself for three days. He obtained his food through a trap in the wall, and was excluded from all communication with the outside, being provided with paper and other writing materials. His task was, in the time allotted, to write all he knew. If his examiners found that he knew sufficient, he was made a doctor. If not, they cut off his head, if he had not already lost it during his three days' confinement and hard work. The object of many examinations in England was not dissimilar in some ways to the Chinese. It was all, or practically all, written work, and the examiner had a tendency to find out what the candidate did not know, rather than what he knew. If in a modern language examination a candidate happened not to be quite sure as to the fact that the French word 'ail' had two plurals, or if he could not turn into German on the spur of the moment an English idiom like

> 'Come day, go day,
> God brings Sunday,'

a black mark was at once set against him. He was not speaking against written examinations; but he thought that oral tests should be added to the present system. In France and most other European countries, as well as in South America, the written part of most examinations formed but one-tenth of the whole examination, the oral part being much more suitable for bringing out of the candidate what he actually knew. As regards examinations in modern living languages, the point was still more apparent. He did not wish to overrate the importance of oral or colloquial teaching and a subsequent *vivâ voce* test, and he did not wish to advocate the learning of waiter-German or courier-French, and he did not despise the great advantage to any would-be cultured man or woman which was to be found in a good literary knowledge of foreign languages; but, as had been clearly shown by the meeting of the previous day, they must not neglect the intrinsic value of being able to speak with one's next-door neighbour. When Englishmen went abroad they should be able first of all to ask for what a good friend of his once called his bread-and-butter, although, as the meeting knew, France did not produce that article of food except in English cafés in Paris. In moving the resolution, he had in his mind certain examining bodies dealing especially with commercial subjects. Among those he might cite the Society of Arts and several of the County Councils. Why an examination in languages by such bodies

should consist only of literary, grammatical, technical, or commercial matter—which he did not wish to depreciate for a moment—and should not include some test of the ability of the candidate to express himself in the language, he did not understand. The Society of Arts, the examinations of which were attended every year by thousands of students, was an old-established society to which even their esteemed President made reference in his excellent annual address; but even old and revered institutions, like old and revered men, might scorn the *Neuere Richtung* or Reform Movement; and, if the members of the Association, as a body of men expert and proficient in matters concerning modern languages, in a courteous and civil, although firm and resolute manner, approached the Society of Arts and other examining bodies, he felt sure that they would meet with some response and consideration. The London Chamber of Commerce had already been led to include conversational and colloquial tests in their examinations in modern languages. As regarded the County Councils, he understood that some had already an oral test, but many there were who still lagged behind in the forward march of linguistic progress, and it was the duty of the Association to urge upon them to bring the examination in languages up to the standard of the times by adding oral tests to their examinations in modern languages.

Dr. Abrahams wished to second the resolution. He said that, if students were to attain such fluency of speech as would enable them to pass in a *vivâ voce* examination, there must be a radical change in the way of teaching them, and it was necessary that a colloquial system of teaching should be introduced at an early stage. Colloquial systems had been in use for many years. Paul Passy and others had introduced a very practical way of putting the students in face of the possibility of expressing their thoughts in the new language, and, in fact, of thinking in the language which they were learning instead of thinking in their native language and translating into the new. It was desirable to adopt the principles of the direct method in which the language to be learned was used in the early stages. A resolution to that effect was passed last year at the General Congress on Modern Languages held at the Paris Exhibition. He would propose as an addition to the resolution that the principles of the direct method should be adopted.

The President pointed out that, as Dr. Abrahams was not yet a member of the Association, he was unable to move or second a resolution.

Mr. Rippmann said that he should be very glad to second Mr. Demant's resolution, particularly as he did not wish that the additional words should be accepted. He thought that nobody would doubt where his sympathies were. He believed firmly in the direct method, but he objected to binding the Association to any one method, as if theirs was the only right method. He must say that they had profited very much from persons who were not in sympathy with them. He would like to suggest that a small committee be appointed to consider how oral tests were to be applied. That was a question of very considerable difficulty. Mere dictation was a very weak test indeed. Sometimes the voice of the examiner who read gave the students much difficulty. The test ought to be given by a teacher to whose voice the boys were accustomed, the inspector being in the room. A further advantage of this plan would be that the nervousness of examinees would be less if their own teacher was present.

Mr. Milner-Barry said that he believed that at the present moment there was a prospect in the Joint Board and in the local examinations of a *vivâ voce* test being imposed. It was, he thought, an accomplished fact in the case of the Joint Board. Perhaps it would be as well to see on what system the oral tests were going to be conducted by those authorities.

Mr. Eve wished to point out some difficulties connected with the motion. In the first place the *vivâ voce* test would greatly increase the expenses of the examinations. Such examinations as those of the Society of Arts were very properly very cheap examinations. Again, at examinations attended by large numbers of candidates conducted by several examiners it would be very difficult to get a uniformity of standard. Even the same examiner varied his standard from time to time, and far more in oral examinations than in written ones. There were several classes of examination in which the imposition of the oral test would be exceedingly difficult. He did not wish altogether to discourage the motion. *Vivâ voce* tests were, he believed, very desirable; but at the present time they seemed to him a counsel of perfection. The method of conducting oral examinations was still in the experimental stage. It was an extremely difficult problem to find out how to put the boys and girls who attended an examination most at their ease, and to bring out what they really knew. He did not like the London University method, in which a passage was read and some stereotyped questions, not always very judiciously selected, were put to each candidate. He confessed that the method to which he was most inclined was that adopted at the Cambridge

higher locals. It consisted of making one of the set books the subject of conversation.

Dr. Lloyd thought that it would be well to appoint a committee to watch the subject of oral examinations. Whether that committee should confine themselves to a criticism of the proceedings of examining bodies he would not pretend to say; but the question of oral examinations was coming forward rapidly and irresistibly. The tendency of modern language teaching at the present time was to begin with the living language, and it was precisely in the elementary examinations that the *viva voce* test was most essential. He had pleasure in supporting the proposal that a committee be appointed.

Mr. T. Demant said that the fact that the establishment of *viva voce* examinations was difficult would stimulate their interest in trying to introduce them. He admitted the greater expense. Probably the students would have to pay a second fee. He was in favour of the teacher being at the examination to draw out from the students what they knew. The system of examining by means of the teacher in the presence of official examiners prevailed already in Germany. As to the direct method, the *viva voce* test would give it a better chance and also find out its value; but probably many of the students would sit for the *viva voce* and not for the literary test.

The resolution moved by Mr. Demant was carried with one dissentient.

Mr. Rippmann then moved the following resolution: 'That a sub-committee be appointed to consider the methods of *viva voce* examination adopted, or to be adopted, by examining bodies.'

Dr. Lloyd seconded the motion.

Mr. Siepmann said that he had conducted *viva voce* examinations, and he did not share the view that it was extremely difficult to conduct such examinations in a satisfactory manner. In conducting a *viva voce* at Clifton College, he took the book which the class had been reading during the term and asked them questions upon it in the language of the book. He did not think that it was necessary to introduce a set book in the public examinations. It would always be found that the students had read some book during the term prior to the examination, and they could bring that book to the examination for the use of the examiner. He was convinced that it would be easy to gauge the value of the examinee's knowledge in two minutes. Five questions would distinguish the impostor. He agreed with Mr. Eve that the stereotyped questions which were used at the examination of the University of London might be omitted; but to read a passage and give the candidate some time to assimilate the subject-matter which was put before him seemed to be a very sound way of testing his knowledge in the foreign language. He was glad that a committee to watch the subject had been proposed.

The motion for the appointment of a committee was then carried unanimously.

Allgemeiner Deutscher Sprachverein.

Mr. Siepmann moved 'That the principles of the Allgemeiner Deutscher Sprachverein are worthy of the hearty support of this Association.' He said that the body in question was founded in 1885 by Hermann Riegel, and it now had 211 branches in Germany and other countries, with a membership of 15,000. The London branch was called into existence about two years ago by Professor Weiss of the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich. The Society was originally founded to remove from the German language the many foreign words that could be easily spared. But its aims went a little further. The members wished to encourage the love of the German language all over the world. In dealing with the removal of foreign words, the Society proceeded very cautiously. It did not seek to remove them unless a satisfactory substitute could be found in the German language. The Allgemeiner Deutscher Sprachverein publisbed from time to time a journal which contained articles of a very interesting nature written by most competent men. Those articles, besides being interesting to readers in general, appealed particularly to schoolmasters. This publication could be obtained for five shillings a year. About one hundred members of the Modern Language Association had joined the Society, and he would be very glad if the other members would do the same. The movement was supported by the great writers in Germany, and it was also supported by the German Government. He would read a few lines written by Herr von Bülow, a man whose name was known not only in Germany, but in England also, on account of the excellent speeches which he made a little while ago. The passage was as follows:—

'BERLIN *den* 30. *Juni*, 1900.

'SEHR GEEHRTER HERR GEHEIMER OBERBAURAT!

'Eurer Hochwohlgeboren Schreiben vom 19.d.M., für das ich meinen aufrichtigen Dank entgegenzunehmen bitte, giebt mir willkommenen Anlass, mein warmes Interesse für dio nationalen Aufgaben des Allgemeinen Deutschen Sprachvereins, wie Sie diese in dem mitübersandten Aufsatze der Vereinszeitschrift massvoll und doch zielbewusst umgrenzen, auch durch meinen Beitritt zu dem Zweigverein Berlin-Charlottenburg zu bethätigen.

'Das Anerkenntnis, dass die mir unterstellte Reichsbehörde bereits seit Jahren ihr Wohlwollen für die Bestrebungen des Vereins durch die That bewiesen hat, gereicht mir zu lebhafter Befriedigung. Ich erachte es als wichtige Aufgabe gerade derjenigen Reichsbehörde, der die Wahrnehmung der deutschen Interessen im Auslande und, in notwendigem Zusammenhange damit, die Fürsorge für die Erhaltung des Deutschtums unter den in der Fremde lebenden Deutschen obliegt, der Pflege eines der gewaltigsten Bindemittel, der Muttersprache, erhöhte Aufmerksamkeit zuzuwenden. Als Leiter dieser Behörde berufen, werde ich es mir jederzeit persönlich ganz besonders angelegen sein lassen, alle dahin zielenden Bestrebungen nach Kräften zu fördern.

'Indem ich Sie daher bitte, mich in die Mitgliederliste des hiesigen Zweigvereins gefälligst aufnehmen zu wollen, verbleibe ich mit der Versicherung ausgezeichneter Hochachtung

Eurer Hochwohlgeboren ergebenster

v. BÜLOW.'

The motion was seconded by Mr. Storr and carried unanimously.

Phonetic Sub-Committee.

Dr. Lloyd (Liverpool University College) said that the task of reporting on the work of the Phonetic Sub-Committee had been committed to him, in consequence of the absence of Mr. Atkinson through illness.

The report about to be made was described in the programme as the final report. In a certain sense the description was true, as the committee had exhausted their original mandate, and they required instructions as to whether they were to proceed with further work. A circular, printed as part of *The Modern Language Quarterly*, was circulated among the members, but, unfortunately, he had not received a large number of answers. Only sixteen sets of answers in all had arrived, and these differed very much in the extent of their completeness, and they also differed to some extent in the exactness of their notation. Three sets of answers were so incomplete, that they had to be rejected. The remaining thirteen had been tabulated; but the projected census of English pronunciation had been in a certain sense a failure on account of the uneven distribution of the answers. The thirteen tabulated answers comprised four Scotch, two northern, three southern, two London, one Australian, and one mixed. The outlying portions of the English community had opinions of their own about pronunciation, and were disposed to assert them. That fact tended to the conservation of established types of language. This was a time for ultra-conservatism and for adherence to types which could be accepted all round, and which would offer a firm front for resistance to tendencies which might in time split up the language. Language would no doubt change if they let it; but a neighbouring nation had shown that syntax could be placed under state control. The difficulties of the English people lay chiefly with pronunciation. The few answers which had been received did not afford sufficient ground for any general conclusion, but they confirmed for the most part old impressions, as, for instance, with regard to the obscure vowels. But the types of pronunciation which were called northern and southern were not exactly geographical. They interpenetrated one another. The choice between long and short vowels in such words as 'glass,' 'demand,' and 'branch,' did not strictly follow geographical limits. Probably there were hardly two Englishmen in existence who would fill up the returns in exactly the same way with regard to the choice between a long and a short vowel in such words as 'cloth,' 'soft,' 'loss,' and 'salt.' The differences of pronunciation were very curious. In some instances the same person gave two different pronunciations to the same vowel in words which were generally taken as riming with one another. Some curious phonetic facts had been presented by the returns. One was that the change of sound between the singular and the plural of certain words, though it did proceed in a certain sense by law, did not proceed at the same pace in different words. For instance, the majority of the answers showed that the 'th' in the plural of the words 'truth' and 'bath' was sounded differently from the 'th' in the singular of those words; and yet in the word 'lath' the same value was given to the 'th' both in the singular and in the plural. There was a great contrast in the answers with regard to isolated words; but a fair unanimity had been shown upon points which the committee had regarded as doubtful. The 'h' which had been formerly held to be silent in 'humble,' 'hotel,' 'hospital,' and 'herb,' appeared now to be hardly ever silent. One or two answers gave the 'h' as silent in 'hotel.' As to some words, there seemed to be as great a disagreement as ever. Among these were 'vase,' 'tortoise,' and 'chamois.' It must be admitted that the census which had been attempted by the committee was a partial failure, but it was not a discouraging one. The method which they had pursued seemed to be faulty. It had brought in a few answers, but the results appeared to be too sporadic. Apparently a different method would have to be adopted. Six workers might each note the pronunciation of six well-selected speakers, and report upon their observations. The committee were not tired of their work, and if the Association wished them to continue their labours they would be willing to do so.

Professor Skeat proposed that the Phonetic Committee be reappointed and requested to proceed with the work. The Society was under a great debt of gratitude to Dr. Lloyd for the pains which he had taken. Perhaps people in general did not realise the extraordinary way in which pronunciation differed, not only between place and place, but between the younger members and the older members of the same family. Being a born Londoner, he had an idea that he did understand the pronunciation of English words, but that was not a view which was accepted in his own family, for he belonged already to the last generation. When he was young he was taught to pronounce 'soot' as 'sut' (as in 'cut'). His children told him that that pronunciation was entirely wrong, and that the proper pronunciation was 'sŏŏt' (as in 'put').

That was a very good illustration of the present state of affairs, and the Society would be under a debt of gratitude to anybody who would undertake the enormous trouble of attempting to settle pronunciation.

Mr. Milner-Barry seconded the motion.

The President, before putting the resolution, remarked that, when he was listening to Dr. Lloyd's statement as to the question of whether the 'h' in 'humble' should be sounded, he was reminded of a line which was put forth about fifty years ago as an exercise in the letter 'h':

'The heart that is humble may hope for it here.'

In this case it seemed to be taken for granted that the 'h' in 'humble' was to be aspirated.

The motion was carried unanimously.

The late Professor Max Müller.

The President said that it was proposed to omit the next item of the programme, namely, the motion of Professor Fiedler of Birmingham University, 'That steps should be taken to commemorate in some form Professor Max Müller's services to the study of German in this country.' The commemoration of the services of the late Professor Max Müller had been taken up very widely and very liberally in other quarters. Separate action by this Association was therefore unnecessary.

Votes of Thanks.

The President moved a hearty vote of thanks to the authorities of the University College of Liverpool for placing the Arts Theatre at the disposal of the Association for the holding of the annual meeting. He said that the members had very much enjoyed the good accommodation which had been afforded to them.

Mr. Storr seconded the motion. He said that it had been his good fortune to attend conferences at sundry times and at divers places, and at some he had been very uncomfortable. But on this occasion they had had warmth and comfort, and, although the weather was cold, they had been able to sit without greatcoats. In seconding the vote of thanks to the authorities of the college, he would join with it the name of Dr. Dale, the Principal. That gentleman had added to their entertainment in every sense of the word.

The motion was carried with acclamation.

Mr. Eve said that he had been asked to move the thanks of the Society to those bodies which had so kindly, hospitably, and pleasantly entertained the Association at the reception at the Royal Institution, Liverpool, on the previous evening, namely, the Literary and Philosophical Society, the Philomathic Society, the Société Littéraire Française, the German Club, the Italian Literary Society, and the Alliance Française de Liverpool. It reflected credit on Liverpool that there should be so many societies, and that they should be such hospitably minded bodies. These societies had combined to enhance the pleasure of the members of the Association.

Mr. Milner-Barry said that he seconded the motion with the greatest pleasure. This was the first annual meeting at which the dinner had been followed by a reception. He was certain that all the members of the Association appreciated the kindness which the societies had shown to them. They hoped that future dinners might be followed by receptions.

This motion was also carried by acclamation.

Dr. Moore, in acknowledgment, said that, as one of the principal representatives of one of the societies which gave the reception, he might say that those bodies greatly appreciated the vote of thanks, and that the visit of the Association to Liverpool had stimulated interest in those studies which the Association specially represented. The Literary and Philosophical Society proposed, as a memento of the visit of the Society to Liverpool, to elect Dr. Richard Garnett and Professor Skeat as honorary members. They had had several distinguished names on their roll.

On the proposal of **Mr. Eve,** a vote of thanks was accorded by acclamation to Dr. Garnett for presiding.

The President briefly replied.

The proceedings then terminated.

OBSERVATION.

GIRALDI CINTIO AND THE ENGLISH DRAMA.

Giovanbattista Giraldi, surnamed Cintio, holds an important position among the minor Italian novelists in their influence on the Elizabethan drama. He is not himself a great writer; he is often prolix, and his style is heavy, but there is a good deal of observation and knowledge of human nature in the tales he builds up laboriously touch by touch, that was turned to good account by the more brilliant genius of the playwrights. So cumbrous and pedestrian indeed is his narrative, when compared with many of his predecessors, that Mr. J. A. Symonds suggested that the popularity he enjoyed, especially abroad, was chiefly owing to the ease with which he could be understood by readers only moderately conversant with Italian, and to whom the more racy Tuscan authors presented serious difficulties.

Giraldi was born in 1504 at Ferrara, where he received an excellent education in literature, philosophy, and medicine. After lecturing for some time on medicine and letters he became, at the age of thirty-eight, secretary to the Duke, a post he held till the latter's death in 1558. He then left Ferrara and resided as lecturer successively at Mondovi in Piedmont, Turin, and Pavia. From the latter place he returned to his native town in ill-health, and died in 1573. He wrote several tragedies in the usual classical manner, which were edited in 1583 by his son Celso, and also a critical treatise on poetry. The only work, however, by which he influenced the literature of his time, or lives to-day, is his collection of 'Cento Novelle.' The title of the first edition is as follows:

'De Gli Hecatommithi Di M. Giovanbattista Gyraldi Cinthio Nohile Ferrarese Parto Prima [La Second Parte]. Nel Monte Regale [Mondovi] Appreso Lionardo Torrentino. MDLXV. 2 vols. 8°.'

Later editions appeared at Venice in 1566, 1574, 1580, 1593, 1608, all in 2 vols. 4°. This would seem to indicate that at the time of publication Giraldi was still at Mondovi, in which case we must reject the tradition that he acquired the surname Cintio at Pavia. This deduction is not, however, unavoidable, as the first edition may have been surreptitiously printed from a MS. after he had left, and the place of printing of the second, dated the following year, which shows a much more correct text than the first, would seem to point to his having then removed to Pavia. Further, we find a French translation by Gabriel Chappuys (or Chapuis) printed at Paris 1583-4 in 2 vols. 8°.

Turning to this country we find the collectors of tales drawing, though sparely, upon our author. Two stories in Painter's *Pallace of Pleasure*, (II. 11 and 15) are derived from the *Hecatommithi* (VIII. 10 and IX. 8), which, however, were not used by the playwrights, while, on the other hand, they certainly had recourse either to the original or the French translation. Thus, for instance, the rubric of the seventh novel of the third decade runs thus:

'Un capitano Moro piglia per mogliera una cittadina Veneziana; un suo alfieri l'accusa di adulterio al marito; ei cerca che l'alfieri uccida colui ch'egli credea l'adultero; il capitano uccide la moglie; è accusato dall' alfieri; non confessa il Moro, ma essendovi chiari inditii è bandito, e lo scelerato alfiero, credendo nuocere ad altri, procaccia a se la morte miseramente.'

Here we evidently have the outline of *Othello*, and the novel itself fills in the picture much after the same manner as Shakespeare. I have not seen the French version (which is not in the British Museum), so that I do not know whether there is any evidence whether it was this or the Italian that Shakespeare used. There are some points which seem to suggest that he very likely saw neither but got the story orally. Thus had he had the original before him, he could hardly have failed to make use of the highly dramatic incident of the 'alfieri's' child being employed to get possession of the handkerchief. There is not, however, any reason to suppose with Mr. Brown that Shakespeare had any source apart from Giraldi.

Beaumont and Fletcher twice made use of stories from the *Hecatommithi*, namely in *The Laws of Candy* and *The Custom of the Country*. The main plot of the former is derived from the ninth novel of the tenth day, which is headed:

'Un padre, voloroso uomo Pisano, viene a contesa con il figliuolo altresi valoroso, de' premi promessi a chi più valore mostra contra i nemici in favore della patria; il gittare delle sorti gli raccheta; ritornando alla battaglia sono tagliate le mani al padre nella meschia; lo fa risanare il figliuolo; vuole il padre indurlo ad uccidere la matrigna come adultera; nol consente il figliuolo; sono perciò a nuova contesa insieme; sente la donna il romore e si fa conoscere pudica, mostrando che quegli che il marito credeva uno adultero era figliuolo di lei.'

The play, however, follows the novel only as far as the maiming of the father. In the other play it is the under-plot that resembles a novel of Giraldi's (VI. 6):

'Livia a un solo figliuolo; glielo uccide un giovane a caso, il quale fuggendo la famiglia del podestà, si nasconde in casa della madre del morto; i sergenti lo prendono; il podestà lo condanna alla morte; ella lo libera e lo prende per figliuolo in vece del morto.'

The resemblance was pointed out by Weber and accepted by Dyce, but a closer parallel has been found in Cervantes' novel, *Pericles of Sigismunda*, of which an English translation appeared in 1619 (Ward, ii. 722), which may well, however, in its turn be referable to Giraldi.

So far as I am aware, the only other play known to have been directly founded on the *Hecatommithi* is Whetstone's *Promos and Cassandra*, which was in its turn, jointly with the same writer's prose rendering in his *Heptameron*, the source of *Measure for Measure*. The heading in the original (VIII. 5) runs:

'Juriste è mandato da Massimiano Imperadore in Ispruchi, ove fa prendere un giovane violatore di una vergine e condannalo a morte; la sorella circa di liberarlo; Juriste dà speranza alla donna di pigliarla per moglie e di darle libero il fratello;

ella con lui si giace, e la notte istessa Juriste fa tagliar al giovane la testa e lo manda alla sorella; ella ne fa querela all' imperadore il quale fa sposare a Juriste la donna; poscia lo fa dare ad essere ucciso; la donna lo libera e con lui si vive amorevolissimamente.'

The story was a very popular one everywhere. It is found in a letter from a Hungarian student dated 1547, and was used by Rouillet for his lost play *Philamire* two years before the first edition of the *Hecatommithi*. It is also found in Goulast's *Histoires*, and Grimstone's *Histories*, and was dramatised by Giraldi himself in his *Epita*. But many variants are current, and it no doubt has some historical foundation, as it certainly has several historical parallels.

There was also some indirect borrowing. Shakespeare founded his *Twelfth Night* either on one of the 'Inganni' comedies of Italy (there are also French and Spanish dramatic versions), or possibly on the second story in Rich's *Farewell to the Military Profession*, which is derived from Bandello (II. 36), the common origin of all versions, either through Belleforest's French or, more probably, Giraldi's Italian (Ward, II. 81). The heading of the latter (V. 8) runs:

'Messer Cesare Gravina, temendo l'ira del suo re, con un figliuol maschio ed una femina, nati ad un parto, si fugge da Napoli; sono assaliti dalla tempesta; cade il marito et la moglie nel mare, i figliuoli rimangono nella nave, e ciascuno di essi tien che l'altro sia morto; si ritrovano tutti in buona fortuna, e, riavuta la gratia del re loro, se ne ritornono contenti a Napoli.'

All's Well that Ends Well is derived through Painter from a novel of Boccaccio's, which was likewise the source of Bernardo Accolti's *Virginia*, acted at Siena in the early years of the sixteenth century. The deception practised by Helena is a familiar theme, and appears in a Spanish romance concerning Queen Maria of Aragon. Giraldi tells the incident in a novel (IX. 7) headed:

'Nonna ama Pantheone; egli la sdegna per esser povera e s'innamora ardentemente di un' altra giovane, collaquale credendosi giacere, per mezo d'una accorta donna, si giace con Nonna e la sposa; quell' altra si marita ad un altro; egli finalmente piglia Nonna, e ritrovandola gravida, viene in gelosia; poi, conoscendola gravida di lui, si vive con lei felicemente.'

Here, as in the play, the heroine is poor, in contrast to the rich Giletta of the *Decameron*.

Similarly *Much Ado about Nothing* is derived, possibly through Belleforest, but more likely through a lost play, from a novel of Bandello's, which finds a parallel in the fifth canto of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*, imitated by Spenser in the *Faery Queen*, II. iii. Here again the same incident is treated by Giraldi (I. 9) in a novel where we read how:

'Ginetta ama Messer Gianni da Buda; l'induce con inganni a voler dar morte alla moglicra; clla, veduto il pericolo, se ne fugge; doppo alcun tempo il marito conosce l'innocenza della sua donna e Ginetta malvagia, e con somma fede seco si vive.'

Yet again we find one of the stories of the *Hecatommithi* (X. 4) with the heading:

'Filandro ama Sofronia; la prende per moglie; ella nell' andare a marito è presa da corsali ed è venduta ad un ruffiano, il quale ne vuol trarre dishonesto guadagno; ella con ingegno salva l'honestà sua; le vuol far forza un soldato; ella l'uccide; è presa e sta in pericola della vita; fiualmente è conosciuta moglie di Filandro, e, liberata, con lui vive felicemente.'

This is no doubt a variation of the Apollonius story, a legend of European vogue, but there is no reason to suppose that it was known either to the author or authors of *Pericles* or to the compiler of the version (translated from the French), which, as reprinted by Twine in his *Patterne of Painefull Adventures*, was the chief source of the play. Giraldi makes, indeed, a story of his own out of the popular tradition, as may be gathered from the summary given above.

E. Koeppel, in his account of the anonymous *Costley Whore* in his *Quellen-Studien* (1897), finds a parallel to the under-plot of Euphrata—the love of the princess for her father's 'chamber-squire'—in one of the novels (VIII. 10), translated by Painter, and thrice mentioned by Greene, in which 'Eufemia s'innamora di Acharisto servo del padre di lei, re di Corinto'; but as the likeness extends no further, the suggestion may, I think, be dismissed.

Lastly, turning to non-dramatic borrowings, the same authority, in his *Italienische Novelle in der Englischen Literatur* (1892), mentions, besides the two novels in Painter:—*Hecatommithi*, II. 2, possibly imitated by Greene, *Planetomachia*, Venus, Tragedy; II. 6. *Rich his Farewell*, 4; III. 5. *Rich his Farewell*, 6, cf. also Greene, *Penelope's Web*, I.; VI. 3. *Rich his Farewell*, 3; VI. 9, parallel in Melbancke, *Philotimus*, also *Pasquils' Jests*, and *Merry Tales and Quick Answers*; and finally, VIII. 5 in Whetstone's *Heptameron*, IV., already mentioned.

W. W. Greg.

REVIEWS

Scandinavian Loan Words in Middle English, by Erik Björkman, Ph.D. Part I. (Studien zur englischen Philologie herausgegeben von Lorenz Morsbach, vii., Halle, Niemeyer, 1900.)

Dr. Björkman's work on Scandinavian words in English is not yet completed, and he has not given in this first Part an explanation of his whole scheme, so that it is not yet possible to criticise his results in full. But his first Part is pleasant reading, and shows among other things a humane regard for the students' convenience, and a lively faculty for exposition, which ought to win acceptance for his writings, even beyond the circle of professional philology. Dr. Björkman, after recognising what has

been done before him in this matter, *e.g.* by Brate (*Paul und Braune*, Beiträge x.), and by Wall (*Anglia*, xx.), describes his position as an historical student of language, and secures his right to speak on the subject by displaying very sound and reasonable principles of inquiry. The difficulties are fully estimated, particularly the danger of putting down words hastily as Scandinavian without proper inquiry into possible Old English derivations. The confidence of the reader is won by Dr. Björkman's account of the conditions under which a foreign element comes into a national language, and, further, of the reciprocal processes that go on between two languages when they are in contact as English and Danish were. As Dr. Björkman has still to finish his demonstration, it would be wrong to say that he has omitted anything; in what he has here published, there is a large amount of dictionary matter very clearly arranged and described. Dr. Björkman is a humanist as much as a collector of specimens of language; in his treatment of the subject he points out how English borrowed from Danish, not words merely, but idioms and proverbs, like the antithesis of 'bote' and 'bale,' or the sentence that spread so wide concerning the counsel of women—'women's rede is cold rede.' This point of view clears up the Middle English use of *grá*, grey, in the Norse idiomatic sense of 'fiendish' or 'dangerous.' The English borrowed imaginative and striking words from their invaders. An instance not noticed as yet by Dr. Björkman appears to be the Northern English 'undemous' common in the *Buik of Alexander*, which some would claim for John Barbour. This word (*cf.* 'vndemnes,' Cursor Mundi, l. 23235) appears to be an imitation of Old Norse *údœmi*, 'prodigy,' or rather of the genitive *údœma* used attributively = 'monstrous' as in *údœma-verk*, monstrous work. From this usage the English, with a sense both of the derivation and the construction of the Danish word, made the imitation, undēmes, used as an adjective indeclinable, meaning 'beyond reckoning,' 'portentous,' 'huge,' which taking the common termination, became 'undemous.' Among Norse idioms must be included 'for all that' (and a' that) = fyrir allt þat—hann. kvez fara mundu fyrir allt þat, *Grettis Saga*, c. 37. Dr. Björkman asks for a reference for 'maures' = 'maurar' = 'ants'; it is found in the alliterative *Troy Book*, l. 111, in the passage about the origin of the Myrmidons, where the MS. reading 'Mawres' is misprinted 'Mawros':

> 'How mawres were men made on a day
> At the prayer of a prince that peopull had lost.'

On p. 19 (neuter adjectives in -t) add 'kwart,' the older, and 'kyrt,' the later form (*D. Troy*, 836), used in the phrase 'in quart,' 'in kyrt,' = 'securely' or 'quietly,' as explained by Professor Skeat. One would like Dr. Björkman's opinion of 'keve,' found in *Pearl*, 320, 980, whether it is *kefja*. It is not noted under initial *k*, p. 141 *sq.* It should be remarked here, as the point is of interest, that Dr. Björkman accepts the derivation of 'haȝher' (= apt, dexterous) from Old Norse 'hag-r,' keeping the inflectional ending.

W. P. KER.

Grettis Saga Ásmundarsonar, ed. R. C. Boer. (Altnordische Sagabibliothek, Heft 8, Halle, Niemeyer, 1900, 10m.)

GRETTIR the Strong, like other heroes, has came to this favour at last, and his story is made into matter for the schools, with a careful commentary. There is something at first sight a little depressing in this turning of the Saga to the uses of the lecture-room, but Homer and Shakespeare have endured as much, and the grievance is purely a fanciful and sentimental one. The present edition, by Dr. Boer of Leeuwarden, is valuable both for its introductory essay, its text, and its explanatory notes; it is conceived and carried out in the right spirit. The editor knows the meaning and the worth of the Saga; he is not one of those scholars who see no difference between the great Icelandic family histories and the imitative fictitious Sagas that succeeded them. His theory of the composition of Grettis Saga is temperate and plausible. He does not think that *Grettis Saga* is to be taken as different in kind from histories like those of Gisli or Egil Skallagrimsson. The story of Grettir has obviously been interpolated. The whole latter part concerning Thorstein Dromond and the Lady Spes is a romantic invention borrowed from *Tristram* and, as Dr. Boer shows, from the adventures of Harald Hardrada in Micklegarth; while the body of the work contains a number of wonderful adventures that appear to have collected about the traditional Grettir in his character of principal outlaw in the popular regard. But Dr. Boer does not allow these more or less irrelevant episodes

to conceal the organic symmetry or the genuine sources of the Saga. His view of it is that there was an original Saga which still forms, with little modification in itself, the chief part of the existing book, and which had fully imagined and worked out the idea of Grettir's tragic life. Dr. Boer's appreciative sentences on the characters of *Grettis Saga*, and on the dignity of its scheme, will be read with pleasure and gratitude. He points out two interpolators, the second of them being the author of the epilogue—the romance of the Lady Spes—while before him came an editor, a contemporary and acquaintance of Sturla Thordarson, who enlarged the story by working in a number of the popular legends of Grettir's exploits, without proper care for the serious and imaginative presentation of Grettir's character as it had been given in the original work. Of this hypothesis it may be said that in general it agrees with the phenomena, and is credible in itself, though it cannot be absolutely proved, and cannot make certain of the divisions between original and interpolated matter. To reject passages on internal evidence as unworthy of an author is not always safe; we have writers of sound imagination who have not always held consistently to their own ideas, and who have allowed their heroes to fall below themselves. The repetition of incidents in *Grettis Saga* with slightly differing circumstances is nothing out of the common, and is not in itself proof of vicious editing or interpolation. The doublets of this sort in Grettir must be compared, for example, with those in Barbour's *Bruce*.

As to the *Beowulf* episodes in Grettir, Dr. Boer thinks that the second, viz. the contest of Grettir with the troll-wife, and with the ettin under the waterfall (cc. 65, 66), was introduced by the first redactor with definite imitation of the Beowulf story, which he knew in an English form; from this he took the word *heptisax* (=*hæftméce*), which was marked by Vigfusson in the *Oxford Reader* as evidence of the connection between Beowulf and Grettir. Dr. Boer does not think that there is any relation, beyond that of resemblance, between Glám and Grendel, but this story of the waterfall and its inmates he considers to be directly borrowed from some version of *Beowulf*. In spite of the close likeness between Glám's invasion and Grendel's, it is scarcely possible to make out any case of borrowing; adventures of this sort are too common to prove any particular connection between these exploits of Beowulf and Grettir. But the waterfall is another matter, and there the evidence is more decisive.

The commentary in this edition will be found to give some explanations that may be thought superfluous, but possibly it is intended for students who have no good dictionary. On the other hand, no difficulty seems to have been passed over. In c. 34, the idiom 'þar sem Glámr er' might have been more fully represented as part of the common Icelandic conversational usage. The text is better than that of 1859 in many respects, *e.g.* in the reading 'í Görtum' in c. 22, and 'Þorgeirr' for 'Þorgils' in c. 27. The allusions (for instance, to the fight at Fagrabrekka in c. 30) are clearly explained, and the places of the story are noticed and briefly described. The book is in every way helpful, an example of sound learning sensibly and usefully applied.

W. P. Ker.

FROM HERE AND THERE.

THERE has been a good deal of discussion about the French *arrêté* regarding certain points of 'syntax'; most of them, by the way, rather belong to 'morphology.' This discussion has been interesting, not so much because of any results attained thereby (that was hardly to be expected), but because it showed once more how different may be the spirit in which linguistic problems are approached.

* * * * *

One critic welcomes the *arrêté* because at last the written form of the language is being brought a little nearer to living speech; another sees in this very fact a fatal attack on venerable traditions. One is glad that there is a little less memory work, and a little more time for teaching his pupils to think in the foreign language; another laments that delicate distinctions are being ruthlessly swept away.

* * * * *

Teachers need not be much troubled. They are still free to teach what they have been wont to teach; they can warn their pupils not to read the *arrêté*. Or if they are dealing with beginners, they can now tell them, for instance, that *œuvre* is always feminine, and that proper names can always take *s* in the plural. What they have to avoid is only the confusion which would result from putting the *arrêté* into the hands of pupils who have, by dint of much labour, learnt the old rules.

* * * * *

It is the examiner who calls for pity. Not the old-fashioned examiner, who relied on many of these exceptions for his trickiest questions when setting a paper; but the examiner who has to correct. How often will the blue pencil hesitate, before the one who wields it has mastered every *tolérance*?

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Space in our columns has been given before this to the discussion of examination papers. There is a recent one which deserves mention, as being, in our opinion, altogether unsuited to its purpose. We refer to the French paper at the last Sandhurst Examination.

* * * * *

What are we to expect of a candidate for an army examination? A fair knowledge of the spoken language, and the power to translate at sight (i) a fairly difficult piece of modern French into good English, and (ii) a straightforward passage of English into French. What was actually set? A long passage of Molière, and a hard piece of Dickens.

* * * * *

The questions on literature and history are difficult to set; for there is, on the one hand, no set period; and on the other, very little time to answer them. It may well be doubted whether it is possible, under these circumstances, to make up questions for which 'cramming' is not the only preparation; and in that case the sooner they are omitted from the examination, the better. But if they must remain, let the examiner think twice before he again asks for the contents of the *Henriade*, as was done on the last occasion.

* * * * *

We gather from the regulations for the Cambridge Local Examinations in 1901, that a change has been made in the Preliminary Examination: here also Unseen Translation is in future to be admitted as an alternative to set books in French and German. We congratulate the authorities on this valuable concession.

* * * * *

A short account of the principles advocated by the *Association Phonétique Internationale* has just appeared, as a supplement to the *Maître Phonétique* for November 1900. We notice with great pleasure a notable increase in the number of English members: in 1887 there were 5; in 1897, 53; in 1898, 59; in 1899, 64; and in the last year, 140. France has only 9 more; Germany is well to the front with 290 members.

* * * * *

A specimen is given of Southern English by Dr. H. Sweet, who is the Honorary President of the *Association*, and of Northern English, by Dr. R. J. Lloyd, one of the Vice-presidents. Members can obtain copies for purposes of distribution, on applying to M. Passy.

* * * * *

Very few answers have been received to the circular entitled 'Good English,' and reprinted in a recent number of the *Modern Language Quarterly*. It is hoped that all those seriously interested in questions of English pronunciation will send their answers as soon as possible to Mr. H. W. Atkinson, Rossall School, Fleetwood, Lancashire.

* * * * *

It was found impracticable to issue the Bibliographical List before the end of the Autumn publishing season; this, and a certain amount of delay in the printing, must serve as an excuse for its late appearance. Mr. Rippmann wishes to express his thanks to Mr. Wm. Watson and to Mr. Roger Smart for their valuable aid in the compilation of the List.

A CLASSIFIED LIST OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS,

WITH REVIEWS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS,

June 1st to November 1st 1900.

COMPILED BY WALTER RIPPMANN.

Reference is made to the following journals: *Acad.* (The Academy), *Archiv* (Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen und Litteraturen), *Athen.* (The Athenæum), The *Bookman*, *Camb. Rev.* (Cambridge Review), *Educ. News* (Educational News), *Educ. Rec.* (Educational Record), *Educ. Rev.* (English) Educational Review, *Educ. Rev. Amer.* (American Educational Review), *Educ. Times* (Educational Times), *Folklore*, *G.H.* (The Glasgow Herald), *Guardian*, *Journ. Educ.* (The Journal of Education), *Journ. Ped.* (The Journal of Pedagogy), *L.g.r.P.* (Litteraturblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie), *Lit.* (Literatnre), *Lit. Cbl.* (Litterarisches Centralblatt), *Lit. World* (The Literary World), *M.F.* (Maitre Phonétique), *Neu. Spr.* (Die Neueren Sprachen), *Neuphil. Cbl.* (Neuphilologisches Centralblatt), *Outlook*, *Pall Mall Gazette*, *Ped. Sem.* (Pedagogical Seminary), *Pract. Teach.* (The Practical Teacher), *Rev. Intern. Ens.* (Revue Internationale de l'Enseignement), *Rev. of the Week* (Review of the Week), *Rev. Univ.* (Revue Universitaire), *S.R.* (Saturday Review), *School Board Chron.* (School Board Chronicle), *School Guard.* (School Guardian), *Schoolm.* (Schoolmaster), *School Rec.* (School Record), *School Rev.* (School Review), *Sec. Educ.* (Secondary Education), *Speaker*, *Spect.* (The Spectator), *Univ. Corr.* (University Correspondent), *Univ. Ext. Journ.* (University Extension Journal), *Z.a.d.S.* (Zeitschrift des Allgemeinen Deutschen Sprachvereins), *Z.f.d.A.* (Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Litteratur), *Z.f.d.P.* (Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie), *Z.f.d.U.* (Zeitschrift für den deutschen Unterricht), *Z.f.I.S.* (Zeitschrift für Indogermanische Sprach- und Altertumskunde).

Guide I. (No. 1-184, June 1896) and *Guide* II. (No. 1-157, December 1896): Nos. 1 and 2 of the *Modern Language Teachers' Guide*, edited by WALTER RIPPMANN, copies of which (price 4d., by post 4½d.) can be obtained on application to the Editor of the *Modern Language Quarterly*.

M. L. Q., '97, No. 1-243: Items in the Classified List in the *Modern Language Quarterly*, No. 1 (July 1897).

M. L. Q., '97, No. 244-423: Items in the Classified List in the *Modern Language Quarterly*, No. 2 (November 1897).

M. Q., '98, No. 1-204: Items in the Classified List in the *Modern Quarterly*, No. 1 (March 1898).

M. Q., '98, No. 205-459: Items in the Classified List in the *Modern Quarterly*, No. 2 (July 1898).

M. Q., '98, No. 460-903: Items in the Classified List in the *Modern Quarterly*, No. 3 (Nov. 1898).

M. Q., '99, No. 1-702: Items in the Classified List in the *Modern Quarterly*, No. 5 (Aug. 1899).

M. L. Q., '00, No. 1-1222: Items in the Classified List in the *Modern Language Quarterly*, No. 1 (July 1900).

ENGLISH.

A.—LITERATURE.—I. TEXTS.

Bacon. The New Atlantis. Edited by G. C. M. SMITH, M.A., Cambridge University Press. 1900. Ext. fcap. 8vo, pp. vi+72; 1s. 6d. 1223

Borrow, George. Lavengro. Ward, Lock & Co. 1900. 1224

Educ. News, 21 July '00, p. 474; *Bookman*, Nov. '00, p. 64.

Byron. The Works of. Poetry, Vol. III. Edited by E. H. COLERIDGE. Murray. 1900. 8vo, 8⅜×5⅝ in., pp. 570; 6s. 1225

Vol. II., *see M. L. Q.*, '00, No. 8; *Athen.*, 23 June '00, p. 775; *Bookman*, Aug. '00, p. 180; *Acad.*, 30 Jan. '00, p. 548.

—— **Letters and Journals.** Vol. IV. Edited by ROWLAND E. PROTHERO. Murray. 1900. 8vo, 8¼×5⅜ in., pp. 516; 6s. 1226

Vol. III., *M. L. Q.*, '00, No. 7; *G. H.*, 21 July '00; Vol. IV., *Bookman*, Aug. '00, p. 180; *Acad.*, 28 July '00.

—— **Childe Harold.** Edited by H. F. TOZER, M.A. 3rd edition. Oxford Clarendon Press. 1900. Extra fcap. 8vo, pp. 336; 3s. 6d.; in parchment, 5s. 1227

Carlyle. Essay on Burns. Edited by JOHN DOWNIE. Blackwood. 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. 118; 2s. 6d. 1228

—— **Sartor Resartus.** Edited by J. A. BARRETT. Black. 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. 352; red. to 2s. 6d. 1229

Caxton's Version of the Golden Legend. Edited by F. S. ELLIS. With modernised spelling, marginalia, and notes. In seven volumes. Dent. 1900. 12mo, 6×3⅝ in. Vol. i. pp. 298; vol. ii. pp. 285; vol. iii. pp. 306; vol. iv. pp. 274; vol v. pp. 258; vol. vi. pp. 274; vol. vii. pp. 291; 1s 6d .cloth net; roan, 2s. net per vol. 1230

Coleridge, S. T. Rime of the Ancient Mariner. Gay & Bird. 1900. Imp. 16mo, pp. 40; 5s. 1231

M. L. Q., '00, No. 11; *Athen.*, 30 June '00, p. 823; *Spectator*, 30 June '00. p. 900.

Cowper. The Task, and Minor Poems. By ELIZABETH LEE. Blackwood. 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxxiii+283; 2s. 6d. 1232

Educ. Times, July '00, p. 288; *Athen.*, 14 July '00, p. 55; *G. H.*, 31 May '00; *Acad.*, 15 Sept. '00; *Pract. Teach.*, Aug. '00, p. 109; *Schoolmaster*, 1 Sept. '00, p. 350.

—— **The Unpublished and Uncollected Poems of.** Edited by T. WRIGHT. Unwin. 1900. Large cr. 8vo, pp. 83; 3s. 6d. net. 1233

Spectator, 27 Oct. '00, p, 569.

—— **Expostulation.** Edited by T. PAGE. Moffatt and Paige. 1900. 16mo, pp. ; paper cover, 3d. [*Ready about December.* 1234

Dickens. Little Nell. From 'The Old Curiosity Shop.' Nelson. 1900. Fcap. 8vo, pp. 96; limp cloth, 4d. 1235

Educ. News, 2 June '00, p. 359.

Dryden, John. Essays. Selected and edited by W. P. KER, M.A. 2 vols. Oxford Clarendon Press. 1900. 7⅞×5 in., pp. 730; 10s. 6d. 1236

Acad., 21 July '00; *Spectator*, 11 Aug. '00, p. 177; *Lit.*, 11 Aug. '00; *Oxford Mag.*, 14 Nov. '00.

—— **Essay of Dramatic Poesy.** Edited by D. NICHOL SMITH. Blackie. 1900. Crown 8vo, 7⅜×4¾ in., pp. 176; 2s. 1237

Athen., 4 Aug. '00, p. 150; *Bookman*, Aug. '00, p. 160; *G. H.*, 7 Aug. '00; *Acad.*, 16 Sept., '00; *School Guardian*, 22 Sept. '00, *Educ. News*, 21 July '00, p. 474.

—— **The Hind and the Panther.** Edited by W. H. WILLIAMS, M.A. Macmillan. 1900. Globe 8vo, 6¾×4⅜ in., pp. xxii+134; 2s. 6d. 1238

M. L. Q., '00, No. 22; *Journ. Educ.*, Oct. '00, p. 626; *Educ. News*, 17 Feb. '00, p. 111.

Dryden, John. Palamon and Arcite. Edited hy G. M. MARSHALL. New York, Appleton & Co. 1900. Pp. 112; 40cts. 1239

Educ. Rev. Amer., May '00, p. 507.

The Dryden Anthology. Edited by Prof. E. ARBER. Oxford University Press. 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. vi+312; 2s. 6d. 1240

Educ. Rev., Sept. '00, p. 476.

Franklin, B. Autobiography; Poor Richard; Letters. With a Critical and Biographical Introduction and Notes, by A. R. SPOFFORD. New York, London. 1900. 8vo, pp. ; 15s. 1241

Goldsmith. She Stoops to Conquer; or, The Mistakes of a Night. Edited by J. M. DENT. Dent. 1900. 16mo, pp. viii+147; cloth, 1s.; roan, 1s. 6d. net. 1242

—— **The Traveller.** With Introduction and Notes by THOMAS PAGE. Moffatt & Paige. 1900. 16mo, pp. 32; paper cover, 3d. 1243

Pract. Teach., Aug. '00, p. 110.

—— **Traveller, Deserted Village, and other Poems.** Edited hy J. H. LOBBAN, M.A. Blackwood. 1900. 7 × 4¾ in., pp. xliii + 120, with Frontispiece; 1s. 6d. 1244

Educ. Times, July '00, p. 288; *Journ. Educ.*, Sept. '00, p. 593; *Athen*, 14 July '00, p. 55; *Acad.*, 15 Sept. '00; *School Guardian*, 8 Sept. '00, p. 708; *Educ. News*, 16 June '00, p. 391; *School World*, Nov. '00, p. 427; *Pract. Teach.*, Aug. '00, p. 109; *Schoolmaster*, 1 Sept. '00, p. 350.

Goldsmith Anthology. Edited by Prof. E. ARBER. Oxford University Press. 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. vi. +312; 2s. 6d. 1245

Bookman, Nov. '00, p. 65; *Educ. Times*, Nov. '00, p. 457.

Gray's Elegy and Goldsmith's Traveller and Deserted Village. Relfe Bros. 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. 72; 8d. 1246

Pract. Teach., Sept. '00, p. 165.

Gray's Poems. Part 1. Elegy written in a Country Churchyard; The Bard, etc. With Introduction and Notes by THOMAS PAGE. Moffatt & Paige. 1900. 16mo, pp. 40; paper cover, 4d. 1247

School Board Chron., 22 Sept. '00, p. 286.

Thomas Gray, The Letters of. Including the Correspondence of Gray and Mason. Edited by DUNCAN C. TOVEY. Bell. 1900. Vol. i., pp. xxxiv+393; 3s. 6d. 1248

Irving, Washington. Alhambra. Edited by ALFRED M. HITCHCOCK. New York, Macmillan. 1900. Pp. 356; 25cts. 1249

Educ. Rev. Amer., May '00, p. 507.

Johnson. Life of Dryden. Edited hy PETER PETERSON. Macmillan. 1899. Cr. 8vo, 7 × 4¾ in., pp. xvi+185; 2s. 6d. 1250

M. L. Q., '00, No. 35; *School Guardian*, 8 Sept. '00, p. 709.

—— **Milton** (from 'Lives of the Poets'). By T. W. BERRY and T. P. MARSHALL. Simpkin. 1900. Crown 8vo, 7⅛ × 4⅞, pp. 156; bds. 2s. 1251

School World, Oct. '00, p. 389.

—— **Lives of Milton and Addison.** By J. WIGHT DUFF. Blackwood. 1900. 12mo, pp. 209; 2s. 6d. 1252

School World, Sept. '00, p. 350; *Educ. News*, 28 July '00, p. 490; *School Guardian*, 8 Sept. '00, p. 708; *Schoolmaster*, 1 Sept., '00, p. 350.

—— **Life of Pope.** Edited hy PETER PETERSON. Macmillan, 1899. Cr. 8vo, 6¾ × 4¾ in., pp. xvi+200; 2s. 6d. 1253

M. L. Q., '00, No. 34; *School Guardian*, 8 Sept. '00, p. 709.

A. W. Kinglake. Eothen. Edited by ANON. Methuen. 1900. With one illustration in photogravure. Pott 8vo, 6 × 4 in., pp. xl+312; cloth, 1s. 6d. net; leather, 2s. 6d. net. 1254

Lamb. Essays of Elia. Second Series. Edited by N. L. HALLWARD, M.A., and S. C. HILL. Macmillan. 1900. Cr. 8vo, 7 × 4¾ in., pp. 390; 3s. 1255

Educ. Times, Oct. '00, p. 420; *Educ. News*, 6 Oct. '00, p. 630; *School World*, Nov. '00, p. 427.

Macaulay. Critical and Historical Essays. In 5 vols. Edited by A. J. GRIEVE. Dent. 1900. Vol. I., 12mo, 6½ × 3⅞ in., pp. 398; 1s. 6d. net; roan, 2s. net; Vol. II., pp. 480; Vol. III., pp. 372; Vol. IV., pp. 404; Vol. V., pp. 412. 1256

—— **Essays, Historical and Literary.** Biographical Introduction. Portraits. Ward & Lock. 1900. New ed., cr. 8vo, 7⅞ × 4⅝ in., pp. 510; 2s. 1257

Bookman, July '00, p. 132; *Educ. News*, 16 June '00, p. 393; *School Board Chron.*, 7 July '00, p. 22.

—— **Essay on Lord Clive.** Edited by JOHN DOWNIE, M.A. Blackie. 1900. 7¼ × 4¾ in., pp. xxxvii+190; 2s. 1258

M. L. Q., '00, No. 42; *Journ. Educ.*, Sept. '00, p. 593; *Acad.*, 15 Sept. '00; *Educ. News*, 21 Apr. '00, p. 264; *Schoolmaster*, 9 June '00, p. 1129.

—— **Essay on Clive.** Edited by A. M. WILLIAMS, M.A. Longmans. 1900. , pp. ; . 1259

—— **Essay on Milton.** Edited by T. W. BERRY and T. P. MARSHALL. Simpkin. 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. 139; 2s. 1260

School World, Oct. '00, p. 389.

—— **Essay on Milton.** Edited by J. H. FLATHER, M.A. Cambridge University Press. 1900. 6¾ × 4½ in., pp. xxiii+126; 1s. 6d. 1261

M. L. Q., '00, No. 47; *Journ. Educ.*, Sept. '00, p. 595; *Educ. Rev.*, June '00, p. 379.

—— **Essay on Milton.** Edited by THOMAS PAGE. Moffatt and Paige. 1900. Fcap. 8vo, pp. 96; cloth, 1s. 6d. 1262

—— **Essay on Milton.** Edited by A. P. WALKER, M.A. Ishister. 1900. Sm. cr. 8vo, pp. 146; 1s. 1263

—— **Essay on Horace Walpole.** Edited by JOHN DOWNIE, M.A. Blackie. 1900. 7½ × 4¾ in., pp. xxxvi+134; 2s. 1264

Journ. Educ., July '00, p. 435; *Acad.*, 15 Sept. '00; *Educ. News*, 17 Feb., '00, p. 112.

—— **Horatius.** Edited by ALEX. M. TROTTER, M.A. Chambers. 1900. 6½ × 4¼ in., pp. 32; 2d. 1265

Journ. Educ., Oct. '00, p. 627.

—— **Lay of Virginia.** Edited by D. NICHOL SMITH, M.A. Blackie. 1900. 6½ × 4¼ in., pp. 24; paper, 2d.; cloth, 3d. 1266

Journ. Educ., Oct. '00, p. 626; *School Guard.*, 22 Sept. '00, p. 744.

—— **Life of Johnson.** By D. NICHOL SMITH, M.A. Blackwood. 1900. 7 × 4¾ in., pp. xliii+104; 2s. 6d. 1267

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—— **Prophecy of Capys.** Blackie. 1900. 6½ × 4¼ in., pp. 16; 2d. 1268

Schoolm., 1 Sept. '00, p. 350.

Milton. Areopagitica, and other Tracts. Edited by ISRAEL GOLLANCZ. Dent. 1900. 12mo, 6 × 3⅝ in., pp. 158; 1s. 6d. net.; leather, 2s. net. 1269

—— **L'Allegro, Il Penseroso, Comus, and Lycidas.** (*Standard English Classics.*) Edited by T. F. HUNTINGTON, M.A. Arnold. 1900. 7¼ × 4¾ in., pp. li+130; 1s. 6d. 1270

Journ. Educ., July '00, p. 436; *Schoolm.*, 14 Apr. '00, p. 730.

—— **Lycidas, and other Shorter Poems.** Edited by C. J. BATTERSBY. Blackwood. 1900. 1271

Milton. Paradise Lost. Books I.-IV. By J. Logie Robertson, M.A. Blackwood. 1900. $7\frac{1}{4}\times4\frac{3}{4}$ in., pp. xl+178; 2s. 6d. 1272

Journ. Educ., Sept. '00, p. 593; *School World*, Aug. '00, p. 311; *Acad.*, 15 Sept. '00; *G. H.*, 31 May '00; *Educ. Times*, July '00, p. 288; *Pract. Teach.*, Aug. '00, p. 109; *Schoolm.*, 1 Sept. '00, p. 350.

—— **Paradise Lost.** Books I. and II. Edited by W. J. Crane. New York, Macmillan. 1900. 1273

—— **Paradise Lost.** Books I., II. Edited by Frank E. Farley. Chicago, Scott Foresman. 1898. , pp. 160; . 1274

Journ. Ped., Jan. '00, p. 97.

Pope. Essay on Criticism. Edited by F. Ryland. Blackie. 1900. $7\frac{1}{4}\times5$ in., pp. xiv+53; 1s. 6d. 1275

M. L. Q., '00, No. 59.

—— **The Iliad of Homer.** Books I., VI., XXII., and XXIV. Edited by Prof. Paul Shorey, Ph.D. Illustrated. Isbister. 1900. Sm. cr. 8vo, pp. 176; 1s. 6d. 1276

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—— **Rape of the Lock, and other Poems.** Edited by G. Soutar. Blackwood. 1900. 1277

D. G. Rossetti. Poems. (Part II.) Ellis and Elvey. 1900. (Siddal Edition.) 12mo, $6\frac{1}{8}\times4\frac{3}{8}$ in., pp. 135; 2s. 6d. net. 1278

Lit. World, 23 Nov. '00; *Spect.*, 10 Nov. '00.

Ruskin. Reader's Companion to Sesame and Lilies. By P. W. T. Warren, M.A. Allen. 1900. $6\frac{1}{2}\times4\frac{1}{4}$ in., pp. 106; 1s. 1279

Educ. Rev., Sept. '00, p. 476.

John Ruskin's Fors Clavigera, Readings in. Selected by C. A. Wurtzburg. Allen. 1900. $7\times6\frac{1}{2}$ in., pp. x+260; 2s. 6d. net. 1280

Educ. Rev., Sept. '00, p. 478.

Scott. Complete Poetical Works. Cambridge Edition. Boston, London. 1900. 8vo, pp. ; 9s. 1281

—— **Ivanhoe.** Abridged for Schools. Bell. 1900. Cr. 8vo, $7\times4\frac{1}{2}$ in., pp. 216; 1s. 1282

School World, Aug. '00, p. 311; *School Guard.*, 1 Sept. '00, p. 690; *Educ. News*, 9 June '00, p. 374.

—— **Ivanhoe.** Edited by J. Higham. Black. 1899. $7\times4\frac{3}{4}$ in., pp. xxiv+216; 1s. net. 1283

M. L. Q., No. 62; *Journ. Educ.*, Sept. '00, p. 592; *Educ. Rev.*, July '00, p. 442; *Acad.*, 15 Sept. '00; *Spect.*, 16 June '00, p. 849; *Educ. News*, 31 Mar. '00, p. 215; *Pract. Teach.*, May '00, p. 615; *School Board Chron.*, 4 Aug. '00, p. 118.

—— **Scenes from Ivanhoe.** Arnold. 1899. Sm. cr., pp. 64; 6d., swd. 3d. 1284

—— **Lady of the Lake.** By W. E. W. Collins. Blackwood & Sons. 1900. 12mo, pp. 255; 1s. 6d. 1285

Athen., 4 Aug. '00, p. 150; *School Guard.*, 8 Sept. '00, p. 708; *Educ. News*, 4 Aug. '00, p. 506; *Schoolm.*, 1 Sept. '00, p. 350.

—— **The Lady of the Lake.** Edited by R. G. M'Kinley, M.A. Black. 1900. Cr. 8vo, $6\frac{3}{4}\times4\frac{3}{4}$ in., pp. xx+169; 1s. net. 1286

Educ. Times, July '00, p. 288; *Bookman*, July '00, p. 131; *School World*, Oct. '00, p. 389; *Acad.*, 15 Sept. '00; *Spect.*, 16 June '00, p. 849; *Educ. News*, 23 June '00, p. 407; *Journ. Educ.*, Nov. '00, p. 710; *Pract. Teach.*, Aug. '00, p. 109; *School Board Chron.*, 4 Aug. '00, p. 118.

—— **The Lay of the Last Minstrel.** Edited by W. M. Mackenzie, M.A. School Edition. Black. 1900. Cr. 8vo, $6\frac{3}{4}\times4\frac{3}{4}$ in., pp. xx+115; 1s. net. 1287

Educ. Times, July '00, p. 288; *Bookman*, July '00, p. 131; *School World*, Oct. '00, p. 389; *Spect.*, 16 June '00, p. 849; *Educ. News*, 23 June '00, p. 407; *Journ. Educ.*, Nov. '00, p. 710; *Pract. Teach.*, Aug. '00, p. 109; *School Board Chron.*, 4 Aug. '00, p. 118.

Scott. Marmion. Edited by W. M. Mackenzie. School Edition. Black. 1900. $6\frac{3}{4}\times4\frac{3}{4}$ in., pp. xx+211; 1s. net. 1288

Educ. Times, July '00, p. 288; *School World*, Aug. '00, p. 311; *Bookman*, July '00, p. 131; *Acad.*, 15 Sept. '00; *Educ. News*, 23 June '00, p. 406; *Journ. Educ.*, Nov. '00, p. 710; *Pract. Teach.*, Aug. '00, p. 109; *School Board Chron.*, 4 Aug. '00, p. 118; *Schoolm.*, 4 Aug. '00, p. 233.

—— **Old Mortality.** Edited by J. A. Nicklin. Cambridge University Press. 1900. 12mo, $6\frac{7}{8}\times4\frac{3}{8}$ in., pp. 544; 2s. 6d. 1289

Athen., 4 Aug. '00, p. 150; *School World*, Sept. '00, p. 350; *G. H.*, 21 July '00; *Spect.*, 21 July '00, p. 87; *Educ. News*, 4 Aug. '00, p. 506; *School Guard.*, 1 Sept. '00, p. 690.

—— **Quentin Durward.** Edited by W. Ord. Black. 1900. School Edition. $7\frac{1}{4}\times5$ in., pp. xxviii+466, with map; 1s. 6d. 1290

Acad., 15 Sept. '00; *Spect.*, 16 June '00, p. 849; *Educ. News*, 14 July '00, p. 458; *Journ. Educ.*, Nov. '00, p. 710; *Pract. Teach.*, Aug. '00, p. 109; *School Board Chron.*, 4 Aug. '00, p. 118.

—— **The Talisman.** Edited by W. Melven. Black. 1900. School Edition. Cr. 8vo, $7\frac{1}{4}\times5$ in., pp. xxiv+342; 1s. 6d. 1291

Spect., 16 June '00, p. 849; *Educ. News*, 14 July, '00, p. 458; *Journ. Educ.*, Nov. '00, p. 710; *Pract. Teach.*, Aug. '00, p. 109; *School Board Chron.*, 4 Aug. '00, p. 118.

Shakespeare. The Larger Temple Shakespeare. Edited by I. Gollancz. Dent. 1900. Vol. 12. Cr. 8vo, pp. 360; 4s. 6d. net. 1292

Vols. 1-10, *M. L. Q.*, '00, No. 68; *Bookman*, Aug. '00, p. 160; *Spect.*, 13 Oct. '00, p. 497; *Bookman*, Nov. '00, p. 66.

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